

سكرا من الامم

Saturday November 2 1996

Abu Dhabi 1.01	Denmark 1.00	Norway 1.00
Alaska 1.20	France 1.00	Oman 1.00
Andorra 1.10	Germany 1.00	Poland 1.00
Australia 1.00	Greece 1.00	Portugal 1.00
Bahrain 1.00	India 1.00	Romania 1.00
Bangladesh 1.00	Indonesia 1.00	Saudi Arabia 1.00
Belgium 1.00	Italy 1.00	Slovenia 1.00
Bulgaria 1.00	Japan 1.00	Spain 1.00
Canada 1.00	Korea 1.00	Sweden 1.00
Croatia 1.00	Malaysia 1.00	Switzerland 1.00
Cyprus 1.00	Netherlands 1.00	Taiwan 1.00
Czech Republic 1.00	Norway 1.00	Thailand 1.00
Dominican 1.00	Poland 1.00	Turkey 1.00
Dubai 1.00	Portugal 1.00	USA 1.00
Egypt 1.00	Romania 1.00	
Estonia 1.00	Saudi Arabia 1.00	
Finland 1.00	Slovenia 1.00	
France 1.00	Spain 1.00	
Germany 1.00	Sweden 1.00	
	Switzerland 1.00	
	Taiwan 1.00	
	Thailand 1.00	
	Turkey 1.00	
	USA 1.00	

# The Guardian

INTERNATIONAL  
NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR

Printed in London, Manchester, Frankfurt and Roubaix

Why the world's richest men are all Asian

## Gold of the tigers

The Week page 13

The Joanna Coles Interview

## Just call me President

The Week page 15

Cricket

## Gooch throws his hat into the ring

The Week page 23

# BT launches huge takeover

US company target in £15bn pioneer deal

**B**ITISH Telecom last night launched the biggest takeover bid in British corporate history when it announced that it was in negotiations with MCI, the American communications giant, in a £15 billion deal.

The takeover, which would be the second biggest in world history, would create a rival for American group AT&T as the world's biggest telecommunications company.

Sources close to the deal said last night that BT was supremely confident that the merger would go through. News of the proposed deal, 12 years after it was privatised by Margaret Thatcher's government, would cement BT's status as a world power in the telecoms industry.

A combined BT, whose

stock market value is more than £22 billion, and MCI, which is worth \$10.5 billion, would easily rival AT&T's market value of \$34 billion.

Shares in MCI, which had earlier raced ahead in frantic trading, were suspended on the New York stock exchange yesterday afternoon after MCI — the second biggest long distance carrier in America — confirmed it was in talks with BT. Trading in BT shares, which closed down 4p at 351 1/2p, had closed before rumours of the takeover broke.

News of the deal comes as BT — which is expected to pay for MCI with a mixture of cash and shares — seeks to establish itself as one of the

biggest players in the world telecoms market, which industry experts say will be dominated by just two or three companies by the turn of the century.

The company already has a number of strategic alliances with various European operators, including German utilities group Vag, and last year attempted to merge with British rival Cable & Wireless in a bid to secure its future in the Far East.

Last night BT executives, led by chairman Sir Iain Vallance, were locked in talks at the company's headquarters near St Paul's cathedral, and were talking to their Washington-based counterparts at MCI through a satellite link.

BT, which snupped up a 20 per cent stake in MCI for \$4.3 billion in June 1993, admitted last night that it was considering a "strategic merger" with the American group.

A BT spokesman said: "BT is considering a possible strategic merger with MCI. BT's board will meet over the weekend to consider an anticipated proposal from MCI. BT anticipates that it will be able to make an announcement prior to the opening of the London markets on Monday."

Meanwhile, MCI spokesman Frank Walter said: "MCI's board of directors is considering a strategic merger with BT. MCI anticipates that deliberations will be concluded this weekend and an announcement will be made prior to Monday morning, when we will comply with FCC requirements."

BT and MCI already own Concert, a £3.5 billion joint venture signed in 1993, which took just over a year to win clearance from American authorities. At the time, BT said that apart from "certain circumstances", it was prohibited from raising its shareholding in MCI for 10 years. However, it is thought unlikely that the deal announced last night would face the same regulatory hurdles, due to a change made to US law last November.

Top ten takeovers

Value of deal in \$ billions

RJR Nabisco by KKR	24.6
MCI by BT	22.0
Smith's/Kiss Roacham by Beecham Group	16.1
Wellcome by Glaxo	14.0
Gulf by Chevron	13.2
Kraft by Philip Morris	13.1
Squibb by Bristol Myers	12.0
Warner Communications by Time	11.85
Getty Oil by Texaco	10.1
Conoco by Du Pont	8.0

The real thing... mysterious threats scuppered Puttnam plans for biopic of Irish leader



## How troubles with Coke and army killed Collins film

**D**AN GLESTER Arts Correspondent

WHAT do Coca-Cola, the British Army and Cadbury Schweppes have to do with Michael Collins?

Ten years after a biopic of the Irish republican leader

version, Michael Collins. In 1986 Sir David, who originally commissioned the script from Mr Jordan, took over as head of Columbia Pictures in Hollywood. He embarked on a script entitled Mick, written by Bogdan Harris, to be directed by Michael Cimino, who made The Deer Hunter. The film had got as far as screen tests.

Columbia at that time was owned by Coca-Cola, part of the corporation's diversification into leisure and entertainment. In Britain, Coca-Cola supplied the British Army, an important and very large contract for the company, which was distributed by Cadbury Schweppes in the UK and Ireland.

"I must have told people that I was looking at this film and strange words started coming back," said Sir David yesterday. "It culminated in me having a meeting with Francis Vincent." Mr Vincent was at the time chairman of Columbia Pictures and president of Coca-Cola's entertainment business sector.

The initial concerns about the film had apparently been raised by Cadbury Schweppes. "I went and saw Dominic Cadbury. He was very charming and said they'd had warnings, which were of real concern," said Sir David.

The warnings apparently suggested that if Coca-Cola's subsidiary Columbia made the film, there would

be violent reprisals against the company's interests.

"Mr Cadbury said: 'Nothing may come of this, but is a film you're not desperate to make worth the notion that one of our nightwatchmen might end up being shot as a warning?'"

A month later he had a second meeting with Mr Vincent at which he was given an idea of the problems the film might create for Coca-Cola.

"He said: 'We've received a military communication in Atlanta that, for example, the British Army would stop buying Coke, they'd pull out of Coca-Cola and switch to the opposition.'" In soft drink terms this means Pepsi Cola.

Mr Vincent said the communication had been received in Atlanta from a British Army colonel in charge of supplies. Sir David challenged Mr Vincent to show him a letter from the British Army confirming this. No letter was available.

Sir David went on: "I said you're now dealing with something which is big. It ceases to be a silly bit of pressure applied to a movie. This becomes a major issue. If anyone in the British Army believes he can stop a movie being made, that's mega."

"In the end we laughed. We didn't do the movie, no one else did the movie, and it just died a death."

## Job seekers face criminal checks

**A**LAN TRAVIS Home Affairs Editor

EVERY job applicant in Britain will have to provide proof of a "clean" criminal record under powers unveiled by the Home Secretary, Michael Howard, yesterday.

The Police Bill will give all employers — not just those involved in work with children or the vulnerable — the right to demand to know the criminal record of job applicants. This great extension of official vetting is expected to result in eight million checks a year.

The publication of the scheme came as the Home Office said last night that the Government had decided to adopt proposals to prosecute in domestic courts British tourists who sexually abused children abroad. Until yesterday, ministers had decided to leave such measures to a private member's bill.

The decision to press ahead with the vetting scheme led to concerns yesterday that up to five million people with a criminal past could be excluded from the labour market. The requirements will come into force within 18 months.

Penal reformers said last night that it was reasonable to allow full vetting of those working with children, but a decision to allow any employer to demand past convictions was excessive.

"There is a real risk that employers will play safe and refuse jobs to anyone with a criminal record," Paul Cavendish of the Penal Affairs Consortium said last night.

Job seekers will have to pay a new Criminal Records Agency between £5 and £15 to get a "criminal conviction certificate" giving details of their past which are logged on the Police National Computer.

A three-tier system of checks will operate. Any employer will be able to insist an individual provide the basic certificate listing all their convictions which are not exempt under the 1974 Rehabilitation of Offenders Act. However a "full check" will turn to page 2, column 4

Hand of Hoddle keeps Gazza in England squad despite protests from women's groups

**J**OHAN DUNCAN Sports Correspondent

FOR years Paul Gascoigne's talents on the football field have allowed him to shrug off the image of foul-mouthed boozier and ill-disciplined clown prone to wild binges. But few have been prepared to forgive and forget the recent allegations that he beat up his wife in a Scottish hotel last month — except born-

again Christian and England manager Glen Hoddle. Hoddle's decision to include Gascoigne in the England squad for their next World Cup qualifying game in Georgia has outraged women's groups.

"Hoddle has clearly shown that football and winning a match is more important than the safety of women," said Julie Bindel, spokeswoman for an international conference on violence and abuse of women. "It is an outrage that he is to be made a national hero in this way, and that he will be even more of a role model for many boys and young men."

"Allowing Gascoigne to represent England can only give the impression that it is all right to beat your wife," said Sandra Horley, chief executive of Refuge.

Gascoigne — who has confessed previously to violence against his wife Sheryl before

their marriage — is reported to have headbutted her and dislocated three of her fingers in an attack at a Glensieles hotel on October 13.

But Hoddle, who also called up Tony Adams (a recovering alcoholic who once went to prison for drunk driving) and Paul Merson (who has battled against gambling, cocaine and alcohol addiction) defended the decision.

"My assessment is that Paul should be in my squad for the Georgia game on merit," he said. "At no time have I — or would I — condone what Paul has done. I expect high standards. I also accept that people are human."

"Paul knows he has to change in the long term. My aim is to do nothing in the short term that might turn out to be unhelpful in the future. One of the prime examples that Jesus spoke about was forgiveness in the long term, not just the short term."

But straw polls taken yesterday suggest people have turned against Gascoigne. Almost two-thirds (64 per cent) of 2,000 callers to a Radio Five Live poll said Hoddle was wrong to include Gascoigne. In a similar poll of 1,000 people for Teletext, 71 per cent said Hoddle should not have picked Gascoigne.

Leader comment, page 5; David Lacey and Richard Williams, The Week, page 24



Can the new 125 bhp Audi A3 outprint an angry rhino?

Inside Britain World News Finance Sport Comment and Letters 8 TV and Radio 2; Weather 2 The Week Crossword 24; Sport 20-24 Arts 18-19

770261 307460



Woman with history of depression planned to blame colleagues after tampering with patient's ventilator

Nurse in sabotage plot jailed



Amanda Jenkinson ... falsified her own medical records to hide psychiatric illness

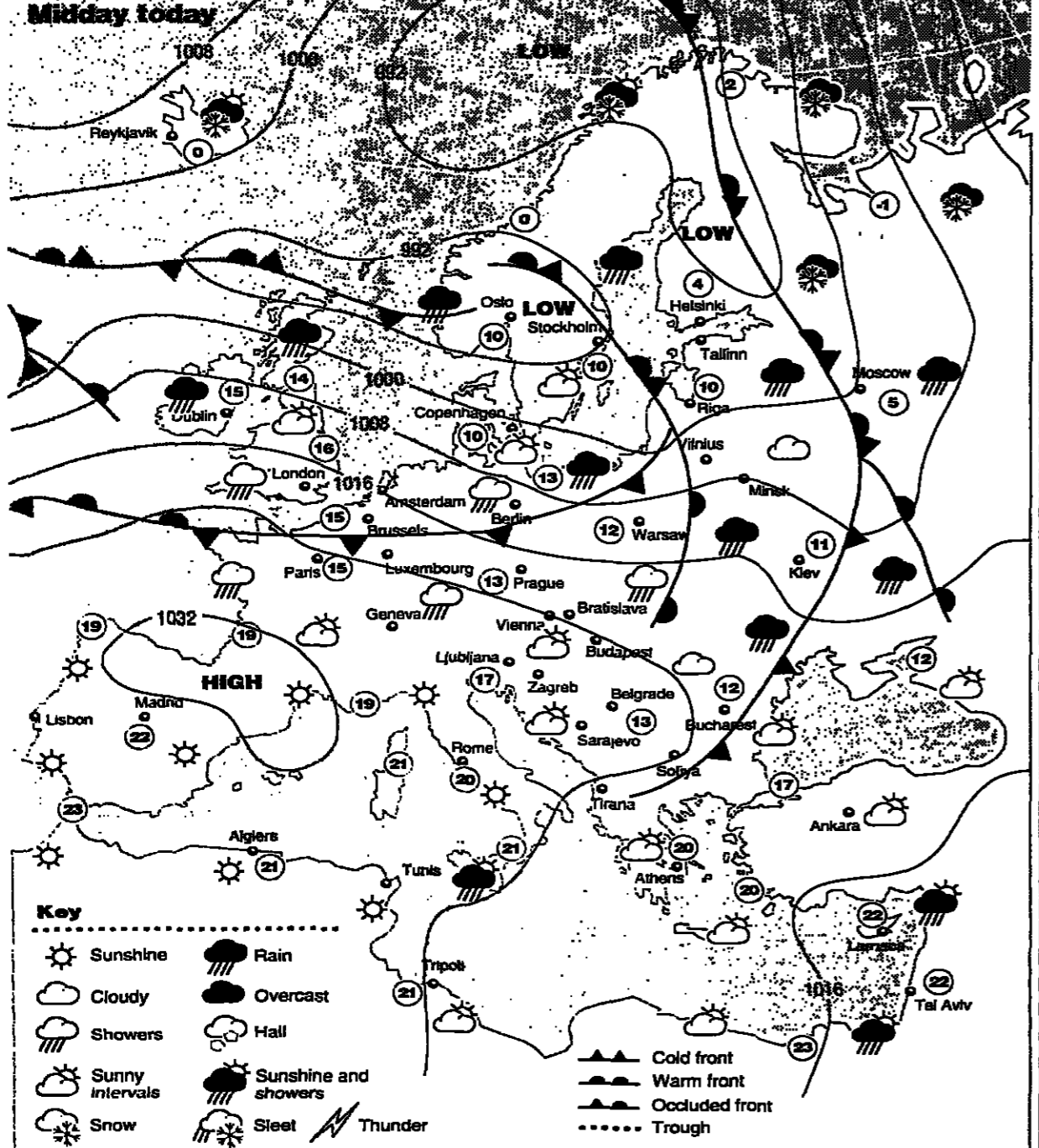
AN INTENSIVE care nurse was jailed for five years yesterday for interfering with the ventilator of a 67-year-old woman...

what you did for your own selfish purposes and you caused great harm to a woman who unhappily was going to die, but nevertheless you caused her that harm... Colleagues and patients were treated with contempt as she tried to secretly stage-manage events...

Job seekers to face a crime check on record

The Liberal Democrats forcing through a complete ban with the support of some rebel Tories suffered a setback yesterday when the Ulster Unionists made clear they would not back a 100 per cent prohibition...

The weather in Europe



Forecast for the cities

Table with columns for city, today's weather, and tomorrow's weather. Cities include London, Paris, Rome, etc.

Around the world

Table showing weather forecasts for various international locations like London, New York, Tokyo, etc.

European weather outlook

Early rain over Denmark and southern Sweden should clear to leave some bright or sunny spells this afternoon, Norway and central Sweden...

Television and radio - Saturday

BBC 1 8.00am News, 9.00am News, 10.00am News, 11.00am News, 12.00pm News, 1.30pm News, 2.00pm News...

Television and radio - Sunday

World News, 11.30am News, 12.00pm News, 1.30pm News, 2.00pm News, 3.00pm News...



Hosts

Stonemasons ready to fight as Andean troops pour over border... A small text block on the right side of the page.





Children flee Gisenyi, Rwanda, past a victim of fighting between local troops and those of Zaire, whose prime minister, Léon Kengo Wa Dondo (below) demanded the return of towns captured by Tutsi rebels

PHOTOGRAPH BY ALEXANDER JOE

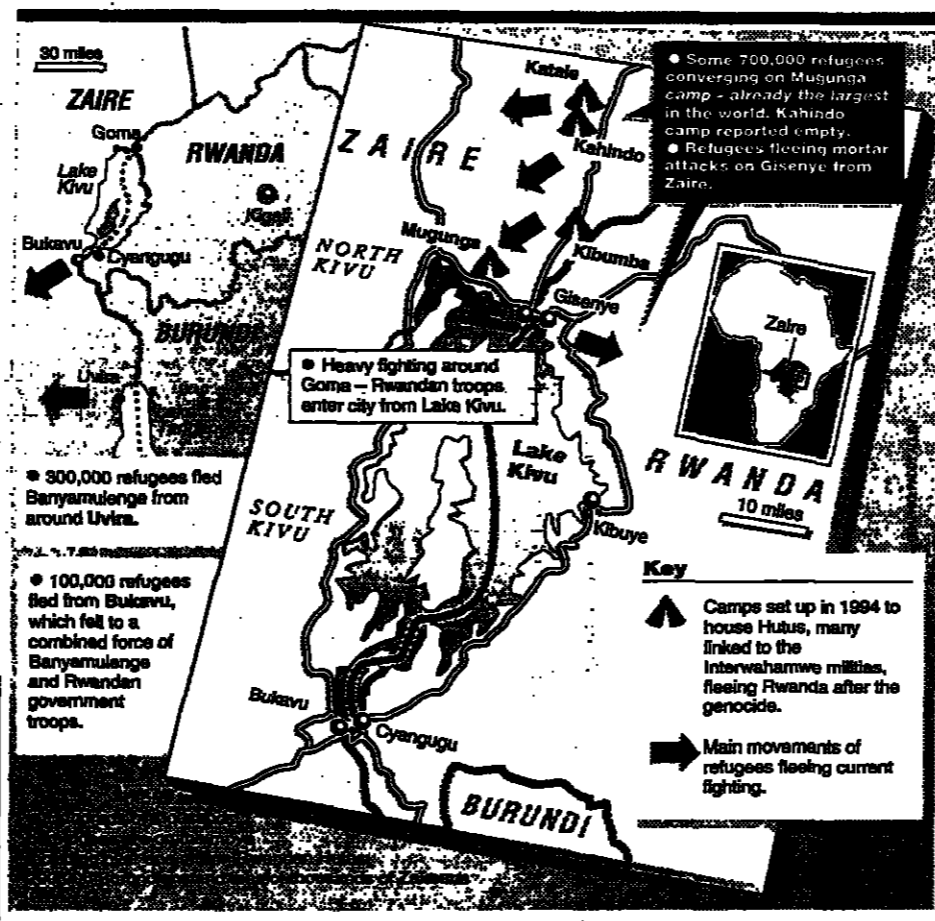
# Ghosts of Africa walk to oblivion

## Witchhunts spread to capital as Rwandan troops pour over border

Charles McGehee in Uvira, Richard Norton-Taylor and Victoria Brittain

**R**WANDAN government troops in uniform last night entered the eastern Zairean town of Goma, dramatically escalating the political crisis in the region where more than 1 million refugees are on the move. Sadako Ogata, the head of the United Nations refugee agency, fears a disaster greater than that of 1994, when about 50,000 newly-arrived Rwandan refugees died of epidemics in shoddy, overcrowded camps in eastern Zaire.

Kinshasa, yesterday with a witchhunt against prominent Tutsis in the business community. Dozens fled to neighbouring Congo. A mob of several hundred demonstrators attacked and looted Tutsi-owned property in the capital, stealing dozens of cars, according to a Reuters television cameraman, Marc Hoogsteyns. "I saw them smash the windows of two shops said to be owned by Tutsis in central Kinshasa and loot a beer truck," he said. "They were driving around in dozens of stolen cars."



Zairean troops looted it before the Rwandan army arrived by boat over the lake and heavy fighting erupted. Further south, the Zairean army was finally routed in the town of Bukavu. Heavily armed uniformed Tutsi rebels took control and civilians began to trickle back yesterday, according to a Reuters journalist, Corinne Durka, who had been trapped inside the town for two days. They were well-disciplined, well-organised and set up checkpoints throughout the town, she reported. Rebel commanders said they are Zairean and speak a variety of languages including Swahili, Lingala, French and English.

Ms Durka's account contradicted the claim by Zaire's prime minister, Léon Kengo Wa Dondo, that Bukavu was back under government control. He also claimed control of nearby Uvira. Yesterday in Uvira, the scene of an early success by the Tutsi rebels, the leader of the rebellion, Laurent Kabila, claimed the war was a battle for the soul of all Zaire. Mr Kabila, wearing a safari suit, sat in his rebel headquarters, the front room of which passes for a grand house in Uvira — one of the first towns he seized after launching his offensive two weeks ago.

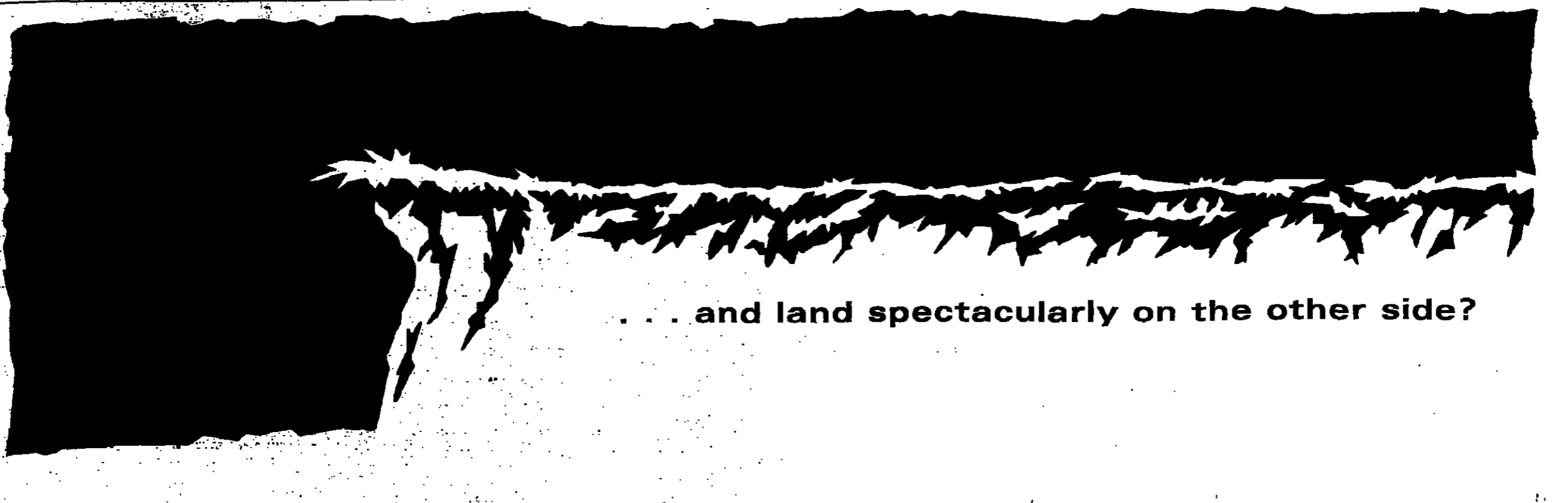
"Our objectives are clear," he said. "We are fighting for a vast movement to put an end to this useless state that no longer exists. There is no power at the top. We want to overthrow the irresponsible clique of people in power to put in place a transitional government which would eventually organise democratic elections."

## Friday, November 1st: A day of disaster in central Africa

- Rwandan gov't troops invade Goma from the lake. Heavy fighting follows.
- Aid workers hide in their homes for a second day as Zairean troops loot Goma.
- 700,000 refugees flee to Mugunga camp — the world's largest.
- Rwandans flee from border as Gisenye is hit by mortars from Zaire.
- Witchhunt against Tutsis in Zairean capital Kinshasa. Many flee to Congo.
- 100 foreigners, mostly missionaries, shelter from looting Zairean troops in Bukavu cathedral. Banyamulenge rebels take control of town.
- Zaire assembly votes to break relations with Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and expel all Tutsis.
- UN calls for regional summit. Rwanda and Zaire refuse.



A UNHCR spokeswoman, Ruth Marshall, reported continuing attacks by Tutsis on refugee camps in eastern Zaire, provoking panic in terrible conditions. "People are sleeping around in shit — it is heading towards catastrophe," she said. More than 100,000 refugees and local Zairean residents were making their way south from Kahindo to Mugunga camp. The camp is out of the control of the international agencies. Bodies are regularly found, guns and grenades can be bought with ease, and the majority of refugees are kept in a state of fear by the killers to prevent them returning to Rwanda. Nearly 200,000 refugees were yesterday making their way to Mugunga after their camp at Kibumba had been attacked and burnt by Banyamulenge forces. Ian Bray, Oxfam's spokesman, described the situation as "basically, mayhem". Thousands of refugees were moving west into Zaire but aid workers were unable to keep track of them. Some were moving north towards Goma, others who had been attacked by Tutsis were moving south of Uvira towards the Fizi Plain. But, Mr Bray added, "no one really knows where people are going". Oxfam issued a statement saying the Geneva Convention on behaviour in war was being torn up in Zaire and told the international community that central Africa was heading for a "firestorm of instability". Oxfam said that if the root causes of the conflict in central Africa are not addressed, humanitarian crises on the present scale would be a regular occurrence. It accused politicians of "failing to do their job" and of using the huge humanitarian effort in the area triggered by the previous Rwandan crisis as a substitute for political action. EU ministers have been invited to meet in Brussels next Thursday to discuss emergency humanitarian support for the refugees caught in the fighting in eastern Zaire, the current holder of the EU presidency, Ireland, said yesterday.



... and land spectacularly on the other side?





Kamal Ahmed on a museum which will house an archive giving a unique insight into the care of the mentally ill in England



Deceit and Duplicitly, by Richard Dadd (above left) and Raving Madness, one of two sculptures on gate posts outside Bethlem's 17th century site

# Lottery opens up 750 years of Bedlam

IT HAS been home to potential assassins of the monarch, one of Samuel Pepys's closest friends and some of the most tortured brains in history. It also has some pretty good art work.

The Royal Bethlem Hospital, better known as Bedlam, is planning to open the doors of its 750-year-old archive, allowing a unique insight into the history of mental health in Britain.

The Bethlem Museum, at present a small room at the hospital in Beckenham, south London, which can only be seen by appointment, has unveiled ambitious plans for a £1 million building. The

scheme, which has received planning permission from the local council, will go before the Heritage Lottery Fund before the end of the year.

Items owned by the hospital include works of art by Richard Dadd, the Victorian artist who murdered his father; writings, poems and pictures detailing the lives of patients in the hospital, and a foundation stone thought to be from the original Bethlem hospital in Bishopsgate, built in 1247.

One of the largest exhibits will be the two stone sculptures, Raving Madness and Melancholy Madness, by Caius Cibber, which once stood on the gate posts at the hospital's 17th century home at Moorfields, half a mile from the original hospital.

There will also be examples of strait-jackets and iron manacles used at the hospital, as well as a reconstruction of a 19th century ward.

"This is a unique archive tracing the history of the hospital and attitudes to mental health," said Patricia Aldridge, curator of the archive. "There are many myths about Bethlem, that people were just dumped here, chained up and never allowed to leave."

"Although it is true that Bethlem has had its ups and downs, there were genuine attempts to cure people."

Dadd, who suffered from a persecution complex, did

some of his best work while he was a patient at the hospital and later at Broadmoor, which opened in the second half of the 19th century.

His paintings in the collection include Sketch to Illustrate the Passions, which caricatured Turner, a Wayside Inn and a portrait of Sir Thomas Phillips, Dadd's patron who first noticed signs of mental illness.

Dadd became convinced that the Devil, disguised as an acquaintance, was going to kill him. Before he was sent to Bethlem he murdered his father and attacked a number of people while travelling in France.

Other patients' work includes that of Jonathan Martin, brother of the artist John Martin who tried to burn down York Minster in 1829, including a series of four of his large pen and ink drawings, complete with raging fires and depictions of the son of Napoleon Bonaparte, whom he thought would conquer Britain.

There is also poetry by James Hatfield, who tried to shoot George III at the Drury Lane Theatre, and a picture of Margaret Nicholson, who tried to stab the king and was admitted to Bethlem at George III's request.

"There are so many fascinating stories here," Ms Aldridge said.

Photographs, patient records and treatment techniques are also held by the hospital. Methods included blood letting, bathing in warm water and being "jollied up" by well-meaning nurses.

Bethlem got the name Bedlam after visitors were allowed in to see the patients as a means of raising money. Stories, often barely based on fact, were told about wailing inmates who were kept in dark cells.

William Hogarth's A Rake's Progress of 1735 showed men chained up, insanely scribbling on walls and mumbling with jester's hats on.

In reality the governors of the museum did try to improve the environment in the 18th and 19th centuries by enlarging windows, bringing in domestic furniture and pot plants and even forming a hospital band to soothe patients.

"We want to show how attitudes to mental illness have changed and what is happening today in this field," Ms Aldridge said. "We want people to think much more widely about the whole subject of mental illness."

Bethlem hopes to be the latest in a long line of museums to take advantage of the lottery money which has seen a new lease of life in the industry. The Heritage Lottery Fund has provided more than £300 million for more than 100 projects.

"Most of us have existed on a shoestring for the past decade," said Valerie Bott, deputy director of the Museums and Galleries Commission. "Many of these projects would never have gone ahead if there wasn't lottery money around."

More unusual awards include funding for the West Runton elephant excavation in Norfolk, one of Britain's most complete fossilised remains, and the Cawthorne Museum in Barnsley, an eclectic mixture of Victoriana which includes among its exhibits a horse's gaitstone.

# Formidable case against single currency is vintage Healey

Michael White Political Editor

WHEN Denis Healey let loose his broadside against a European single currency in the House of Lords this week he reminded fellow-politicians that at age 73 the Balliol Bruiser is still one of the cleverest men in the business as well as one of the most boisterous bulls in a very posh china shop.

It was over thus, the man who battled as Labour's chancellor in the oil crisis of 1974-75 has rarely been able to resist candour — it cost him the party leadership in 1980.

Though he is complaining to the BBC about the way Gordon Brown's comments on his Lords speech were portrayed — prompting him to patronise the shadow chan-

cellor for having no government experience — the incident is vintage Healey.

So too is the award fact that he put up a formidable case: that the case for European economic and monetary union (EMU) is economic, not political, and that Germany's internal EMU, when Helmut Kohl reunited his divided country in 1990, shows how huge the necessary sacrifices are — even for "a single people and a single state under a single leader."

Lord Healey said it had cost West Germany £400 billion — between 3 and 4 per cent of GDP — to make unification work, 85 per cent of Germans still felt worse off, 15 per cent of East Germans were still jobless and many were flocking west. The Bundesbank had opposed a single German currency and had been right.

He might have added that the cost included breaking up the exchange rate mechanism (ERM) in 1992 and ruining Norman Lamont's career. It is a worst-case scenario for what would happen if Chancellor Kohl — the classic "old man in a hurry" — pushed France into a single currency before Europe is ready.

Europe's disparities were just as great as Germany's in 1990, and Mr Kohl had made plain that Germany will not foot the bill, said Lord Healey. Already the pressure of the Maastricht criteria — low inflation, low borrowing, stable interest rates — had inflicted what the Financial Times last week called "a dismal level of economic performance" on Paris and Bonn.

To meet the criteria, all but five states like Luxembourg and Ireland will have to "fiddle the figures".

From the standpoint of the

Tory Euro-sceptic press, all this amounts to a double whammy: an "anti-European" as well as a "Labour split" story. Gordon Brown could probably have done without it, though he was said to be "pretty relaxed" about it. Tony Blair and Robin Cook have no problem.

The shadow cabinet's position, on which all three broadly agreed, is to see Europe as an opportunity, whereas John Major, his sceptics at his heels, prefers to present it as a threat. That is the rhetoric. The reality is that both front benches are adopting a wait-and-see approach to the single currency timetable. Yes, if it works, No if it doesn't.

Mr Brown stresses the advantages of a stable currency regime and (in theory) lower interest rates. Mr Cook warns against narrow financial criteria which will be deflationary. Mr Blair leans both ways.

Like Lord Healey this week, all three stress the importance of job creation in a Europe of 20 million unemployed — though John Major says the social chapter is exactly the wrong way to start.

What Lord Healey, a German-speaker with excellent German contacts, did was to point out that many significant EU players now "fear disaster" if Mr Kohl insists on the 1999 timetable — that it will "divide Europe, not unite it". Public opinion, except in Holland, had turned against it, by 65 per cent in Germany.

What Lord Healey and pro-single currency advocates, like Ken Clarke, agree on is that, in or out, Britain has a vital interest because a "disaster" would hurt both ins and outs.



Lord Healey... If Kohl insists on 1999 timetable 'it will divide Europe, not unite it'

## EC denies British taxpayers may finance foreign pensions

John Palmer in Brussels

THE European Commission yesterday dismissed suggestions that British taxpayers might have to pay for other EU countries' pension payments, if Britain joins the single European currency.

British media reports of warnings by the House of Commons social security committee about "unfounded" pension schemes in other EU countries were seen in Brussels as yet another example of the propaganda war being waged by Eurosceptics against monetary union.

The commission yesterday accepted that, because of the growing number of elderly people, problems could arise in EU countries into the next century if the existing system of financing pensions is not altered. But commission officials point out the Maastricht treaty explicitly rules out any liability falling on taxpayers of one country for the pension liabilities of another.

"Even a cursory reading of the Maastricht treaty shows there is an unambiguous 'no bail out' clause. This means

## Major threatens retaliation for expected EU court ruling

Michael White Political Editor

JOHN Major declared yesterday his government is poised to veto forthcoming changes in the structure of the European Union in retaliation for the expected EU court ruling against Britain next weekend in the battle over the 48 hour working week.

The move came as Labour attacked the so-called "beef war", which chief whip Donald Dewar yesterday dubbed "a great political disaster" that has left farmers and consumers in the lurch.

Weak leadership and poor negotiating skills had left the EU's Florence agreement unimplemented by Britain and her 14 partners unwilling to bend, Labour declared behind its new slogan "Enough is Enough." The battle over working hours promises more of the same, Tony Blair predicts.

Though open to charges of crude electioneering on the largely symbolic issue, senior ministers and officials are adamant the EU's working time

## Referendum Party linked with Euro neo-Nazi groups

John Palmer in Brussels and Michael White

THE European wing of Sir James Goldsmith's Referendum Party is engaged in urgent talks with anti-federalist MEPs in Strasbourg to prevent their Europe of Nations alliance losing official status following a defection to the French Gaullists.

Though the Anglo-French financier insists his supporters "have no intention of associating with any extremist group", their alliance with other Eurosceptic groups has been thrown into turmoil by internal disputes over whether to forge links with neo-fascists.

Goldsmith allies admit that one member of their group "held an unauthorised meeting" with a representative of Jörg Haider's neo-Nazi Austrian Freedom Party. But they insist that the current crisis involves them in exploratory talks only with political democrats.

The Europe of the Nations (EDN) faction in Strasbourg, which united the Referendum party with Sir James' French

**The Guardian** INTERNATIONAL

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Bill's brave new world

96

Lower... Higher...

3000 3500000

سكنا من الاجل

On the campaign trail with the candidates

# Bill's brave new world

**Martin Walker in Oakland, California**

**T**HE clanging of trolley bells insist above the thumping rock music. Bill Clinton strode to address the people of Oakland under a huge cardboard model of the Golden Gate bridge, inviting the packed audience to follow him across it to the future.

**Like ancient kings' healing touch, the campaign stresses intimate moments**

That morning, in Phoenix, Arizona, he had walked to the podium from the state university building across a swooping arc of stone bedecked with a huge sign: "Building a bridge to the 21st century."

"You'll be working at jobs that haven't even been invented yet, haven't even been imagined", he told them.

Ever since Bob Dole told his Republican convention in San Diego that he offered "a bridge to an older, finer America", Mr Clinton has appropriated the metaphor of the bridge — and the future.

From his frenetic campaign speeches, that future is a confused and tumultuous place, where laboratory rats with severed backbones walk again after nerve transplants, where 20 million Americans will be working by computer from home by the time of the next election, where Aids patients survive and women never lose their breasts to cancer. And where the Republicans are never again allowed to close down federal government.

"Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century?", is Mr Clinton's constant question. "Will you help me build it so that we can all walk across it together?"

In Jack London square in Oakland a crowd of more than 10,000 roared that they would. Some wore witches' hats, some wore fright masks for Halloween — even the ultimate terrifier of a Bob Dole mask — and 20 disabled people did a formation parade in motorised wheelchairs sporting Clinton-Gore posters. They all yelled back: "Build the bridge, build the bridge."

The largely black city of Oakland, and the adjoining university community of Berkeley, make up one of the most liberal constituencies in the country. Mr Clinton had critics from the left demonstrating against his new welfare bill, and gay activists accusing him of "murder by neglect". But they were lost in the throng of supporters.

Only the specialised news and cable channels now bother to film the speech. The rest of the cameras wait for the president to plunge into the crowd. They follow him when he hugs a bald child undergoing radiation treatment, when he clasps the hands of an elderly woman who thanks him for funding breast cancer research, when he gives a friendly punch to the shoulder of a young black man who says he has given up drugs and is going back to school and when he rears in mock fright from a Halloween mask.

"He touched me, he touched me," shrieks a small black girl.

Like the healing ritual of the king's touch performed by medieval monarchs, Mr Clinton's campaign stops emphasise these moments of presidential intimacy. Amid the rhetoric of the future, this echo of an ancient tradition is a strange anachronism.

● The five US television networks have refused pleas not to broadcast victory forecasts of Tuesday's election, thus risking a drop in voting in the west, writes Christopher Reed in Los Angeles.

The three-hour time difference between the two coasts enables pollsters to quiz voters in the east leaving the polls up to their 8pm closure to predict a winner at 5pm in eight western states.

When television forecasters said Ronald Reagan had beaten Jimmy Carter in 1980, voting in the west slumped by up to half.



Bob Dole discusses his 96-hour campaign trip with the press corps — some wearing Clinton masks — during a Halloween party aboard his plane late on Thursday

# Desperate Dole takes the DIY psycho trail

**Jonathan Freedland in Columbus, Ohio**

**T**HIS is fast becoming the psycho campaign. A hint of manic danger hovers above Bob Dole's chase for the White House, a kind of devil-may-care recklessness suggesting the candidate could at any moment do something really mad.

The slide to insanity began in earnest yesterday with the launching of the 96-hour "victory" non-stop campaign through at least 15 states that will continue until "high noon" on election day.

The trip smacks of madness, not least because the candidate is aged 73 and prone to wild syntax and wacky rhetoric when tired. His logically challenged staff have struggled to make the buses run on time even when the tours have been long planned.

Today alone Mr Dole will visit eight states, starting with a 4.30am meeting in

New Jersey. If he has trouble filling halls at 8pm, how is he going to excite people in the middle of a freezing night in Newark?

It seems that the whole scheme, which has the candidate visiting truck stops and all-night diners, forgoing hotels, showers and a bed, was dreamt up on a whim by the candidate, for Mr Dole is serving as his own campaign manager, his assistants reduced to bewildered functionaries. He did that in his failed 1988 attempt for the Republican nomination, when, like a wild-eyed hijacker, he sat at the front of the plane, pointing at a map, saying "Land there."

We are not far from that point in 1996. The timetable changes every hour as he tries to find at least one place where he can make a difference. He will try in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Kentucky, Missouri, Nebraska, South Dakota and Colorado — all before tonight is out.

In the small hours tomorrow he will pitch up in Las Vegas to "roll the dice, one more time".

Gallows humour abounds. A technician in the plane sketched out the "victory tour" route on a map on his computer screen: the dots joined up to form the word Loser.

Two former Republican presidents, Gerald Ford and George Bush, joined him before an early-morning crowd at the Capital University in Columbus yesterday. Mr Ford nearly confirmed his reputation as a master humbler by urging people to vote for Mr Bush, but he recovered.

At the end, the trio took a bow while the public-address system blasted the theme from Les Mis, the one about "singing the songs of angry men". Messrs Ford, Bush and Dole looked pretty angry — the world's highest office has been abducted by a young, draft-dodging Democratic upstart. But another fact lurked: both Mr Bush and Mr Ford lost.

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Scandals threaten grand plans

# Education leads next term agenda

**US election '96**

**Martin Walker**

**T**HE main strategy for Bill Clinton's second presidential term is already fixed. He will tackle education hard, and adopt a more cautious approach to reforming entitlements — the ever more costly pensions and health subsidies for the elderly.

But the tactics depend entirely on the political composition of the House of Representatives and the Senate after the election. Mr Clinton will have to restrain a Democratic majority from hauling him back to the party's "big government" traditions. A Republican majority will have him replaying his role of the past two years, defending entitlements from harsh cuts.

Mr Clinton hopes to enact his own quick-fix reform of Medicare, the health scheme

for the elderly, which will fend off the bankruptcy of its trust fund for another 10 years, without the root and branch reform the Republicans propose.

"If we can work with the next Congress to get a balanced budget deal by the year 2002, which does secure the Medicare trust fund for a decade, then that's a confidence-building exercise we can get to the longer-term challenges on entitlements," Laura Tyson, the head of the National Economic Council at the White House, told the Guardian this week. "We have time to do this in a bipartisan way."

On the reform of the national pension system, he plans to delay serious action by appointing a bipartisan presidential commission — which could include a defeated Bob Dole — to formulate proposals that both parties can agree on. This suggests a creeping privatisation of the system, allowing Wall Street access to the biggest piggy bank on the planet. A recession is expected.

The economic recovery has lasted for six years and all precedents suggest it must end. For the sake of Al Gore's presidential campaign in four years' time, the White House would prefer that a mild recession be engineered with higher interest rates soon, giving time for the next recovery to kick in for the Gore campaign.

President Clinton's main domestic project in the next term will be to consolidate the centrist transformation he has wrought within the Democratic Party. This means ensuring Mr Gore's succession and blocking any revival of traditional Democrats in Congress, with their urban base, their debts to the unions and their nostalgia for Roosevelt's New Deal.

The big idea for the second term is to extend the standard period of US education to 14 years, and make two years of college or vocational education the norm for all school-leavers.

"The whole package of education reforms has to happen, so we can make sure we are



High school graduation (above) is the norm for US students now, but Clinton aims to extend the standard with two years of college or vocational training

not turning into an old-fashioned European class system, where the children of people at the bottom stay at the bottom." Elaine Kamarck, a senior White House policy adviser, said. "We need to maintain what is the great strength of America — the class mobility."

There is a sad acceptance among many at the White House that the president's campaign in his first term to extend global free trade agreements has intensified the pressure of low-wage competition on the unskilled and those least equipped to withstand it.

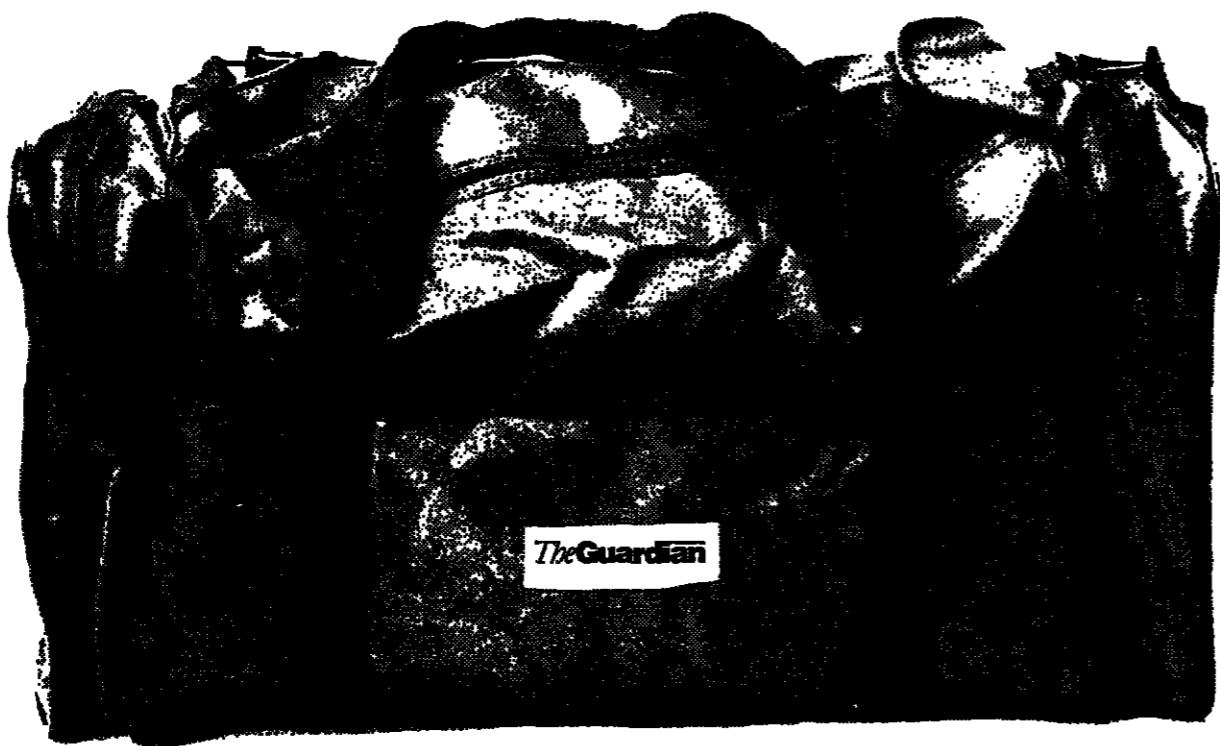
The college loan process is one of the few levers a president has in education policy. Only 7 per cent of the overall \$900 billion annual education budget is controlled by the federal government. The rest is run by the states and local school boards, notoriously jealous of their turf.

Mr Clinton has not decided whether to repeat on a national scale his big education reform in Arkansas, when he and his wife took on the powerful unions to require teachers to pass regular proficiency tests. This may be one of the few ways the federal government can

directly tackle the crisis of the school system.

On foreign policy, the main initiative will be to expand Nato, while hoping from the margins to manage both Russia's fragility and China's ascendancy, with limited faith in the US ability to influence either.

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## 'Nixon factor' haunts Clintons

**Martin Walker**

**T**HIS third-party candidate, Ross Perot, this week put into words what must be haunting the Clinton campaign: the prospect that American voters may relive the grim experience of a re-elected but scandal-plagued president being hounded from office.

"Is it responsible and in the best interests of our country to elect a president who has the next two years of his life facing Watergate-3?" Mr Perot asked a campaign audience in Virginia.

Bill Clinton had "huge moral, ethical and criminal problems facing him".

In the past week, the Clinton team has darkened its already shady reputation. It has stonewalled a judge's demand to bring a senior fundraiser to court to answer questions about dubious donations from rich Asians. On a technicality, it has refused to comply with the legal regulation to publish lists of donors for the latest reporting period.

Mr Clinton is the first president since Richard Nixon in 1972 to look forward to re-election while scandal swirls around him, his wife and his closest aides. His Whitewater business partners, his assistant attorney-general and his successor as governor of Arkansas have all been sentenced to prison terms.

The most immediate

threat is the investigation by the independent counsel, Kenneth Starr, into the original Whitewater property investment in Arkansas. These inquiries have steadily widened.

Mr Starr is investigating whether there was a White House cover-up of efforts to stall inquiries into Whitewater, and whether they obstructed justice during the police investigation into the apparent suicide of the White House deputy counsel, Vince Foster, a law partner of Mrs Clinton in Little Rock.

He is also studying "Travelgate" — the decision to dismiss the entire White House travel office staff and replace them with a distant cousin of Mr Clinton. Inside the White House, this is viewed with the most alarm, since Hillary Clinton told the first federal investigation that she had nothing to do with the sackings. Other evidence has emerged to suggest she may have been perilously economical with the truth.

Even if formal indictments against the White House inner circle never materialise from the Starr inquiry, Whitewater could remain a war of attrition against the Clintons. If the Republicans retain control of either house of Congress, the congressional committees investigations will start all over again, to nag at the second term as they have bled the first.



**Janet and John reviewed by Raymond Briggs**

**See The Observer Buy The Observer**

سكيا من الاجل





## It's time to give them all a free vote

Even Mr Howard would gain

HIS HANDS are up, but he's still not thrown away all his guns. Hence he's in trouble with cabinet colleagues, his party and the country. Michael Howard, the personification of populism, is not just personally unpopular but is dragging his party down. So much for his aspirations of leading the Conservatives when Major goes. Yesterday's Mori poll in the Times showed law 'n' order had for the first time become top of the public's list of most important issues — with the Labour lead in public confidence in what was once such a strong vote-winning Tory issue rising dramatically. Last month's Gallup showed Labour a cool nine points ahead of the Conservatives in public confidence in handling crime. Yesterday's Mori showed Labour 25 points (45 to 20 per cent) ahead in tackling violence, banning combat knives and promoting good citizenship. This would have seemed beyond Labour's wildest dreams even a few years ago.

Michael Howard take a bow. Rarely can a politician have lost so much ground. Perhaps, for once, the Conservative commentator William Rees-Mogg was right when he described Howard as "a very political home secretary who is rather bad at politics". Mr Howard's attempts to wrong-foot Labour through tricky parliamentary procedures over a record five law-'n' order bills in this session have disastrously — and deservedly — back-fired. The public was rightly outraged by the Home Secretary's initial move to leave the paedophile and stalking bills to private members' measures and they are equally unimpressed by his procrastination over knife controls. But most serious of all has been his refusal to ban all handguns. Yesterday's publication of his Firearms (Amendment) Bill left the Conservative party divided into three (a rightwing too tough faction, a liberal too soft, and an indeterminate okay group) but with the vast majority of the public united in opposition.

Mr Howard's Bill would greatly strengthen firearms controls requiring all 160,000 handguns over .22 calibre to be handed in to the police and introducing tougher rules on gun sales, certification, ammunition and club security. No one would be allowed to hold a handgun at home. Special permits would be required to move them from a club to another sporting site. But the Dunblane Snowdrop campaign is right to insist that this is not enough. Some 40,000 pistols would still exist and this number would grow as gun-owners received up to £50 million in compensation for the handguns they had handed in. A .22 calibre gun would still be capable of repeating the massacre of 16 children which occurred in Dunblane. Remember, the guns at both Dunblane and Britain's other massacre, Hungerford, were all legally registered.

The Home Secretary is silly to talk of a total ban driving current handgun owners underground — the police already have the names and addresses of every licensed handgun owner and will know who has not handed in their weapons. In any case, his Bill already includes a 10-year sentence for possessing an unlicensed handgun. A total ban on handguns would still allow sports enthusiasts to go to rifle or shotgun clubs if they want to. It would of course curtail their previous freedom but which is more important: the right to join a handgun club or the need to protect the public and curb Britain's growing gun culture? A handgun ban means there would be fewer weapons around to fall into illegal hands. That must be a plus.

There is a more obvious reason why the Home Secretary is being short-sighted in not permitting Parliament a free vote on the issue. He had hoped to fight the coming election on Labour being soft on crime. Yet for all his hardline rhetoric, Michael Howard remains the minister who is resisting proper controls over knives and handguns. No wonder Labour is smiling. The Ulster Unionists yesterday said they would not join Labour and the Liberal Democrats in supporting a total ban but they may still abstain on such an amendment which has already been promised by a Tory backbencher. Mr Howard faces the worst of all possible positions: persisting with his partial ban but losing it in an ignominious parliamentary reverse. Why doesn't he make a virtue of his political plight by covering up a surrender with a magnanimous offer of a free vote. He'll never be a hero, but he could make himself less of a villain.

## Mission impossible

No one is beyond recall

IT WOULD be tempting to conclude from some of this week's events — one school shut because of a single disruptive pupil and another where rioting continued even after it had been closed — that the underlying fabric of society was being torn apart. When stories like this dominate the newspapers and television news it is all too easy to fall into the trap of thinking that human nature is much worse than it is and that it is impossible to reform people who have fallen so low. In such unhappy circumstances it is worth reminding ourselves that the media, almost inevitably, reports bad news more frequently than it does good news. A train that crashes is news, a one that arrives on time is not. (Well, perhaps that's a bad example but you know what we mean).

In an attempt to redress the balance it may be worth quoting a current example where one man, using the latest physical, sporting and counselling techniques, has attempted to reconstruct a successful team from what might appear at first sight to be unpromising material: two alleged wife batterers, two alcoholics, two former jailbirds, one who broke someone's nose, someone else who dropped his trousers, another who posed naked, yet another who bedded an MP's daughter plus two team mates who were involved in a brawl with each other. Not to mention the posse that ran amok in a night club before rioting in a plane on the way back from a controversial tour in the Far-east. If Glenn Hoddle can turn this lot — complete with Paul Gascoigne under seemingly daily reconstruction — into decent citizens who can also win football matches (especially next week's game against Georgia) then he will deserve a very special prize. For rehabilitating rehabilitation.

## School in a harsh spotlight

WHEN I was in the Ridings school on Monday it was creaking under the strain but still functioning. It did not even bear the signs of breakdown that I have seen in some others. The walls were clean, the building was not vandalised, the pupils went into lessons in a fairly quiet and orderly way. During the two days of inspection it started to collapse. Now it has done so completely. During the week dozens of journalists have camped outside the front entrance, which is only a couple of yards from the road, as are some of the classrooms. Cameras have filmed through the windows. Pupils going into school in the morning and at lunchtime have been accosted by journalists. Some say they have been given money for their stories. They were encouraged by the attention given to them to stay outside while they should have been in lessons. When teachers came out to bring them in and

they made rude gestures and comments behind their backs, these were filmed and they were able to watch themselves on television when they got home. Then a 60 foot gantry was brought in to fix the school and a camera filmed through windows all over the school and in the playground. It is said now that the inspectors observed some of the worst behaviour they have ever seen. Who can really have been surprised? After 16 years as a National Union of Teachers local secretary in a fairly turbulent area, I have seen similar effects from media concentration before, most notably at Drummond Middle School in the Honeyford area. The trauma done will not be recovered from for a long time. When I met the NUT members at the school on Monday, they were very sceptical of the National Association of Schoolmasters and Union of Women Teachers' claim of 60 unteachable pupils. NUT members in the school were

saying that before the media circus arrived they were under pressure, but did not feel physically threatened. They wanted more support for the school in terms of staff and resources. Experienced staff brought in to cover for colleagues who were off long-term sick, and the exclusion of some pupils who had worked their way through the school's internal disciplinary procedures. We were in negotiation on these issues, but our efforts have been overtaken by a different approach. NUT members experience all the same difficulties as NASUWT members. Our front line of argument is to press for more resources to deal with them. We will also support members who refuse to accept assault and harassment by pupils who cannot cope with being in a large mainstream class but are kept there. I have been in Bradford in two recent cases where we balloted members

on not teaching pupils who had assaulted staff but had been returned to school by appeals panels. We quite deliberately did not seek the publicity for our actions that naming the schools would have brought, because we could see that the schools would be labelled, and the prospects of all concerned getting to a better future would be diminished rather than enhanced by the media spotlight and the consequent posturing of politicians. NUT Executive member, 67 Alreville Road, Frixinghall, Bradford BD5 4RN. CHRIS Woodhead has missed a golden opportunity. He should have taken over the headship of the Ridings School himself. That way he could put his practice where his mouth is for a change. Dennis Rushton, 7 High Street, Horbling, Nr Skefford, Lincs NG84 0PE

## Arts and humanities: core business for the critical faculties

AS DEANS of arts and humanities in British universities and colleges, we write to challenge the findings of the survey into graduate employment (Leading firms spur arts graduates, October 24). It is difficult to reconcile the view that employers fail to find appropriate abilities in arts graduates with the opinions expressed to us by many of the companies to whom we speak. The majority of these insist that the kind of skills which, according to the report, employers seek — the "people skills" of communication, team work and leadership — are just as likely to be found among arts graduates as among those in other disciplines. In teaching the arts and humanities, most universities make explicit to their students the need to demonstrate precisely those skills which can be transferred readily to the work force. Indeed assessment is frequently devised with precisely that need in mind. Consequently, we contest strongly the reported view of one of the recruitment companies commissioning the survey that "... the basic fodder the education system churns out needs to be more employable for the majority of recruiters". The arts and humanities develop adaptability and versatility in students.

While doing so, they also nurture an awareness that people are more than merely "fodder" to be "churned out" by one system for consumption by another. There is much evidence to suggest that what is needed in the workplace in particular, and in society in general, is a man and woman who understand the balance which must be struck between economic efficiency and human values. Producing the ability to reconcile both of these imperatives is the "core business" of the arts and humanities. The members of the Council of UK Deans in the Arts and Humanities whom we have been able to contact are absolutely unanimous in their conviction that the article is grossly misleading and damaging to the employment prospects of arts students past and present. In collaboration with the Council for Industry and Higher Education, we are funding a survey, "Humanities students and the world of work" which will, we are confident, offer an alternative view to that expressed in your article. Michael Worton, Faculty of Arts, University College, Gower Street, London WC1E 6BT, and 67 other UK deans in the arts and humanities.

## The other way

THREE cheers for Larry Elliott's article (Back to the 1950s, October 31) for presenting an alternative philosophical and policy agenda to the present tendency for all major political parties to revert to socially authoritarian ideas and policies of the past. The present hysteria about morality and the scapegoating of teachers for all the ills of society is merely a smoke screen to divert attention away from the real causes of the social crisis facing millions of people.

Unemployment, poverty, insecurity, massive cuts in public expenditure, transfer of wealth from the poor to the rich, the list is endless. It is understandable that the Conservatives would want to promote this view; after 17 years of Tory rule there is no one left to blame, so a "decline" in morality is a good propaganda device. But it is unforgivable for the leadership of the Labour Party to subscribe to such a reactionary view as demonstrated by many of their recent policy pronouncements. We need more articles of this kind to try and stimulate a proper debate.

Peter Hall, 10 Windsor Drive, Barnburgh, Doncaster, South Yorkshire DN5 7HL



## When a Pc blows the whistle

WHILE acknowledging the contents of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Constabulary Annual Report (Bullying in the police, "Increasing", October 30) and the need to improve within the police service our conduct to each other, can I mention a form of bullying that is seldom brought to public attention, and that is the bullying by senior officers of their junior colleagues.

A constable is threatened with disciplinary action for having the affront to write to his MP; a young constable in his first two years of service is threatened after a national newspaper ran a story of his difficulties on the way; low wages for probationer constables; a sergeant threatened with "severe consequences" after mentioning what the off-

icer describes as corrupt practice to a TV programme. All these examples happened recently at different locations within a short space of time. "We have a great deal to do inside the police service in respect of 'bullying' but surely we should start at the top; only then will we tackle this serious problem. Mike Bennett, Chairman of the Metropolitan Police Federation, Croydon Police Station, 71 Park Lane, Croydon, Surrey CR9 1BP.

Please include a full postal address, even an e-mailed letter, and a telephone number. We may edit letters; shorter ones are more likely to appear. We regret we cannot acknowledge those not used.

## Howard's law

SIMON Hoggart (Sketch, October 26) is right to draw attention to Michael Howard's peculiar vowel-movements ("The Llanelli shift") but not quite accurate in his description of these phenomena. Rather than turning everything into the letter "i", Howard inserts an extra "i" into words ending "ie". The classic example is "horribill peepill" — not, as Hoggart would have it, "horribill peepill". Beyond dispute is the fact that phonologically, as in juridical matters, the Home Secretary is a law unto himself. Harry Kyres, 41 Tunstall Road, London SW9 8BZ.

THE FIGURES collected by Shelter for the Government's Rough Sleepers Initiative need to be treated with some caution (Ministers unveil £25m plan to aid people sleeping rough, November 1). They say they found 23 people sleeping rough in Bournemouth. But if the count was done during the week of the Tory Party Conference, is there not a chance that some of those spotted may have been former government ministers "resting" on the way back to their hotels? Florence Barnes, 90 Southfield Road, Rawtenstall, Lancs BB4 8RP.

## A leaf from the market forces book

### ANOTHER MANIFESTO

AS the election approaches, our series Another Manifesto will continue to give readers a chance to inject constructive ideas into political debate. Nearer the election, a panel will judge those ideas which most deserve to be taken up by our political leaders.

INITIALLY, cannabis should be legalised totally and market forces should be allowed to supply it in the way they do other commodities — alcohol, tobacco, chocolate. Next should come a change in the law so that, while still illegal, addictive drugs such as heroin, cocaine and amphetamine can be prescribed by doctors and dispensed by chemists, as happened in the sixties.

The effect would be an immediate lessening of crimes associated with addicts' need

to pay for their habit, and a reduction in demand for the contraband and impure variety. Profits for importers and pushers would plummet and these drugs would lose their appeal to criminals. Trafficking would diminish while customs and police could concentrate on the remaining illegal routes, their seizures being recycled into pure dispensed medicine to addicts who could in the same time be advised and helped.

Less on the streets means less new addicts and we should see at last a reduction of the spread of what is truly an illness. P Simmons.

AGREE with Jeff Norton (October 19) and Stan Rosenthal (October 26) that we need to reduce the working week. It is absurd to have millions of people unemployed or working very few hours while others work far longer hours than they wish to, for fear of losing their job if they complain. One strategy to reduce this

problem would be to make all new public sector jobs for four days per week instead of five. Wages would be reduced but by less than one fifth, because the Government would receive money in reduced social security payments. This is only a small step towards sharing out work and income more equitably, but public spending would not be increased and no one take a cut in income because it only applies to new jobs. Richard Mouniford, 76 Springfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham B14 7DY.

A STATE scheme to enable retirement pensioners to realise the capital represented in an owner-occupied home would be of immense relief to tens of thousands of people with inadequate retirement income, and should be made available to all those over 65 whose household income is less than 75 per cent of national average earnings and whose savings have shrunk to an amount equivalent to that

disregarded for income support entitlement. Market value by local authorities supported by central government funding, if necessary, and the vendor given the choice to remain as a secure tenant at a fair rent, or seek a transfer to more appropriate local authority or housing association accommodation. Access to this capital would enable pensioners without access to free home care services to enlist paid help. Beryl Urquhart OBE, 28 Estuary Park, Comber, Bridgwater, Somerset TA9 2QP.

Please send brief proposals and responses to: Another Manifesto, The Guardian, 119 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER (fax 0171 837 4530; e-mail manifest@guardian.co.uk)

## A Country Diary

MACHYNLETH: I write this on a wet and windy day that is emphatically not butterfly weather, yet butterflies insist on flitting in and out of my mind. I see vividly the emerald of green hairstreaks taking the April sunlight on their tiny wings; a fine pagentry of painted ladies crowding into the garden for weeks on end; purple hairstreaks dancing over the rooftops in July; dainty green fritillaries racing along the slopes above the sea cliffs. The reason for my unseasonable preoccupation with butterflies just now is simple. I have before me a splendid small book called Butterflies Of Gwynedd, written by a team of butterfly enthusiasts. Years of research have gone into this study of the butterflies of the old counties of Anglesey, Caernarfon and Merioneth and some very interesting facts are revealed about the ups and downs of butterfly life. Take the common blue for example. In May, 1990, it was so numerous on one part of

Newborough Warren that the creeping willow looked as though it was covered with blue flowers. Yet in 1955 there were none at all. That was a typical short-term butterfly fluctuation but it is the long-term changes that are really significant, and these are shown in the 90 distribution maps with which the book ends. The main body of the text reports on every north-south section of the island from the abundant to the ultra-rare and even one probable hoax. There is also information relevant to the butterflies of all areas of Britain. The photographs of butterflies and habitats are brilliant. So are the sections on history, food plants and conservation. Edited by butterfly expert Paul Whalley, this very enjoyable and instructive book costs £9.50, all proceeds going to the Butterfly Conservation Trust. Or you can get it by post by sending £10.50 to North Wales Wildlife Trust, 376 High Street, Bangor, Gwynedd LL57 1YE. WILLIAM CONDRY

## Martians on the doorstep, roughly speaking



Mark Lawson

JUST as many newspaper obituaries operate in a code for the knowing — special rapport with the young — indicating pessimism and so on — the tourist guidebook has always watched its language. Only after several turgid excursions does the traveller learn that, particularly in the temperamentally inoffensive American publications, "not always fully appreciated on a first visit" describes the obscure centre of Europe, while "a place of understated charms" is a rubbish tip with people living on it. Accordingly, the Rough Guide series, started by an Australian but edited from London, vowed to tell the truth. If a town was a place where outsiders only stayed overnight if they'd been thrown in jail by the notoriously corrupt police force, the guides would say so. Now, ignoring what an

American guidebook might call a "charming native vernacular expression" about what you should and should not do on your doorstep, the Rough Guide has turned its attention to the vistas outside the office window. The new Rough Guide to Britain, published this week, may dampen any celebrations following this week's declaration by Newsweek magazine that London is "the world's coolest capital" (and they didn't mean the weather). For the compilers of the Rough Guide, Britain is the crudest place. The tourist hopelessly opening this 1,019 page guide at the Introduction may well be tempted to turn round and head back to the airport. "In many ways," we read, "Britain is a declining country. Furthermore, it has a less than brilliant climate, a laughable indigenous cuisine, and an attitude to social class that is ingrained with the habits of feudalism."

With an attitude to history ingrained with the habits of political correctness, the book's editors cheerfully redistribute the British Isles in a footnote to the Introduction, which advises that Northern Ireland can be found, reunited with the South on the bookshelf at least, in the Rough Guide to Ireland. Then comes the only really good news. Snobbery-ridden,

bone-chilling, gut-rotting Britain is at least pretty garn-fresh with an unexpected array of health risks in Britain, though, if you're visiting Scotland, you should be prepared to encounter the midge. (How the editors must regret that their headlines denied them a early paragraph about BSE.) Next is the section on law and order: "Although the traditional image of the British 'Bobby' has become increasingly tarnished by stories of corruption, racism and crooked dealings..." Hey, cab-driver, turn back for the airport, will ya? "...the police continue to be approachable and helpful." As you were. Perhaps directed by a crooked and racist but friendly representative of the Metropolitan Police, the travellers arrive at the railway station: "Due to a lack of investment and the Government's obsession with privatization, rail travel in Britain has been in decline over the past decade."

To occupy the implied delay, our tourists perhaps purchase a newspaper: "The pernicious Sun, the sleaziest occupant of the Murdoch stable, its chief rivals in the best and second stakes are the Daily Star and the self-consciously ridiculous Daily Sport..." the middle-brow daily tabloids — the Daily Mail and Daily Express — are uniformly Tory-biased

and show a depressing preoccupation with the royal family and TV celebrities. The privatised train still delayed? How about a bite to eat? "Pork pie, an unaccountably popular English snack made of compressed balls of meat and gristle encased in wobbly jelly and thick pastry." (Despite this libel on good butchers, readers are spared a description of black pudding, here sanitised only as "a kind of sausage.") Some may find the volume's persistent peevishness in stark contrast to, for instance, the Rough Guide to Cyprus's less-over-backwards analysis of the island's turmoils ("However, calm now reigns.") Or, indeed, the sunny beginning of the West Africa edition which — preparatory to dealing with 17 countries which include Nigeria, Liberia and sundry other dictatorships and human rights abusers — advises the reader, in the paragraph exactly equivalent to that which begins the Britain volume: "The physical and cultural diversity of West Africa would be hard to exaggerate... you'll encounter a degree of good humour, vitality and openness which can make the insularity of Western cultures seem absurd."

British liberals — who have agonised about whether it is ethically justifiable to visit

China, Burma, Singapore or Turkey — find themselves at a disadvantage with an unexpected dilemma. Is it morally permissible to go on living in Britain? How can we be willing to reside in this economic basket-case, with its repressive and unpopular government, bent police force, crude and tasteless food, sexual inhibition and rigid social structures? Reading the Rough Guide to Britain is a disorientating experience. It would be tempting to say that it resembles British life as viewed by a Martian. But a Martian could describe everything, while not understanding what it meant; the Rough Guide's editors understand what everything means, but are incapable of describing it. Faced with their own nation, they substitute the instinctive awe of the traveller for the reflex ire of the resident. And so Britain — a notably stable, prosperous and free democracy — comes out sounding like a behemoth.

This touches on the bigger question of the impact of political policy and cultural climate on everyday existence, not just for a tourist but for a citizen. The Rough Guide to Britain contains no great individual truths about the recent history or present condition of Britain and yet the book completely misrepresents the experience of being

here. For example, it frequently bemoans the policy of recent Conservative administrations towards the National Health Service. Yet, even now, Britain is probably the best place in which a tourist could choose to have a heart attack in the street. Another example of this disparity between legislation and life is Italy. This is perhaps the country where a majority of the British political classes — both the parliamentarians and the media who service them — currently choose to holiday. Yet Italy is a political no-man's-land and a den of corruption. This culture, though, has no impact on these visitors' summer weeks of mischief, baroque and spas. The point is not that they should be morally boycotting the nation as a destination but that the whole assumption of their daily work — that politics is fundamentally important — is annually disproved by their vacations. Always nervous of patriotism and nationalism, I found myself roused to a defensive flag-waving — or, anyway, fluttering — by the Rough Guide's assault on my homeland. For all the accuracy of some of its rants and laments, the book's presentation of Britain is, overall, a pork pie — and here I am referring to the quaint rhyming language of the capital rather than the laughable indigenous cuisine.

كنا لوالدي



# Honesty a casualty in the rush for union

**Commentary**  
**Martin Woollacott**

**A** GERMAN magazine cover in 1990 showed Helmut Kohl at the wheel of a speeding racing car, with Lothar de Maiziere, the East German leader, crouched petrified in the passenger seat. Kohl is driving breakneck toward a finish line called unification. Substitute a less petrified Chirac for de Maiziere, some would say, and the picture is the same in 1996, with the whole of Europe being pulled along behind the Chancellor. European monetary union is not being approached in the careful and studied manner that Germans, above all, have always said was necessary. Denis Healey's criticisms of the German Chancellor underline how much all Europeans are dependent on this unpredictable and intuitive

man. In 1989 and 1990 he determined that the objective of German unification should override all other considerations, including the doubts of allies, the anxieties of the West German central bank, and the worries of West German citizens. Slow down to take account of these, he implied, and the prize might be lost. The problems, whatever they might be, could be dealt with afterwards. Now, in 1996, his attitude is the same. The objective of European unification justifies breaking or at least bending the rules. Obstacles are there to be overcome, even those raised by conditions that he himself set at an earlier stage. Kohl chose to spend K-Day — on Thursday he became the longest serving Chancellor since Bismarck — in Japan. The trip was arranged some time ago but, as it happens, it helps him distance himself from the difficulties within his coalition government. From the admission of Theo Waigel, his Finance Minister, in emergency parliamentary debate, that the 1997 deficit will be worse than previously admitted, and from the conclusion of some of the country's most respected econ-

omists that Germany is not going to be able to meet the economic criteria laid down for monetary union. But the government waves aside such difficulties: come what may, Germany will be ready, is the word from the Chancellor's office. Meanwhile, Germans watch disconsolately as their government pares the welfare state and as management and unions confront each other on wages and benefits. Between West and East Germany a divide yawns. The two Germans resent each other and, in spite of the vast amounts of money poured in some of it European as well as German, the East's economy still falters. The latest opinion poll shows the Social Democrats ahead of the Christian Democrats for the first time since before the elections of October 1994. Yet the gloominess of the public mood, and the doubts about monetary union so consistently reflected in polls, should not mislead. Germans may be reluctant to give up the Mark, but they regard monetary union as inevitable, and since it has to come, they trust Kohl more than any other possible leader to get

them through it. When the opposition tried to take advantage of popular doubts about monetary union last year, it came a cropper. Trust in Kohl and in a party which is seen as the manager and facilitator of German economic success over the years outweighed any other factor. Again, the failures in the East have to be seen in context. If the former East Germany thinks itself a "colony" now, how much more that would have been the case had Kohl not offered the generous currency deal, the high wage rates and the large subsidies which he did, and which, not incidentally, gave him a smashing victory in the first elections? And, since that was done, it can hardly be a surprise that the former East Germany has the worst economic record of all the countries in Eastern Europe. They can offer cost-

think just in terms of those who will be inside the first phase of monetary union. It is increasingly uninterested in efforts to decide what the future relationship between the ins and the outs will be. It seems also uninterested in trying to think through, ahead of time, mechanisms to deal with the social and economic disruptions that a single currency will cause, as some regions and countries advance and others decline. There is apparent a philosophy that everything can be left until afterwards. That, among other things, is likely to be interpreted as meaning that Germany and France will, in essence, make key decisions alone, and will negotiate bilaterally with countries who cannot or do not wish to join the first time round. The readiness of the German government to abridge

way of monetary union, and decisions are undoubtedly being made that ought not, on strict principle, to be made. Other countries, as Lord Healey says, will be tempted to follow France in juggling their books. There are broader doubts about the wisdom of monetary union as conceived by politicians dedicated to old concepts of economic growth and believing that growth, as it was experienced in the glory days of the European Community, can be restored by completing the single market with a single currency, and by cutting the labour costs of European industry and the welfare costs of European governments. The dangers of this process are already abundantly clear. For a high social price, a small return in competitiveness is achieved, leading on to demands for deeper, even more painful cuts, which in turn lead to only small further "improvements". Perhaps Europeans will only be ready to consider more fundamental changes when the project of monetary union has been achieved and has demonstrably not delivered what was promised in terms of prosperity, as it almost certainly cannot do, whatever its other advantages. In the meantime what is worrying about the new "flexibility" in Germany and France is not that the strict conditions on convergence are so wonderful — they are in fact socially damaging but that standards of honesty are being abandoned, as well as the traditions of deep administrative preparation for change that should animate European civil services.

## Other countries will be tempted to follow France in juggling their books

differentials which Eastern Germany cannot. Sooner or later the vast investment in the East will begin to pay off, and then the complaints will dwindle away. Kohl's instincts on East Germany were right, even if the price is still being paid. But the question raised by Healey and others is whether the half-leather approach that worked for German unification can work on a vastly larger scale, for Europe. It is not only a question of practicality but of democracy and of consent across a wider Europe. More and more, the German government seems to

and modify conditions earlier presented as critically important has encouraged others to do the same. The French, notoriously, have met Maastricht conditions by counting income money paid over for their government assuming pension obligations. This is a move which gives credit now for future debt, at a time when the unfunded pensions obligations of European governments are already awesomely large. Yet Brussels has approved it, for Brussels too is in the grip of the political imperative. No official or commissioner wants to stand in the

# Cook's Scotch broth



Martin Kettle

**R**OBIN COOK is probably the most generally admired politician in Britain today. Only Tony Blair runs him close, but Blair has begun to become a politician who is respected rather than admired. Cook, by contrast, is loved by his own side, liked by the Liberal Democrats and — perhaps the ultimate accolade — feared by the Conservatives. Cook's stock has never been higher. Much of it rests on the way he attacked the government over the Scott inquiry report in February. His performance was a reminder that parliamentary skills, which he possesses in abundance, still remain the surest foundation of a politician's career and the principal building block of a party's collective confidence. Cook makes Labour walk tall, the Tories, and his handling of Scott is still credit in the bank, months later. Yet Cook is also the cat that walks by itself. As shadow foreign secretary he has been distanced from some of the tough choices with which Blair and Gordon Brown have been compelled to grapple. As chair of Labour's policy forum he has had a limited permit to speak his mind on issues of his own selection. Without pushing too hard, but pushing nonetheless, Cook has come to be seen by Labour members as the custodian of the party's conscience. Before the party conference he made a plea on behalf of the poor which, even if it did not merit the hype that was applied to it, was universally and rightly seen as cautionary. A week ago he marked his doubts about early entry into the European single currency. Cook has always been one of the greenest of senior Labour politicians, and he renewed his credentials in a Nexus fringe lecture at Blackpool. Though he is quieter these days about defence, his views seem unlikely to be significantly less radical than they always were in the cold war years. And he remains Labour's most up-front supporter of proportional representation and political reform, the ideal person (especially from the Liberal Democrat point of view) to lead the inter-party talks which went public this week. If it did not seem an academic question, with Labour 28 points ahead in this week's Mori poll, one would certainly say that Cook is per-

fectly positioned to become his party's leader in the event of the unthinkable (and largely unthinkable about) Labour defeat next spring. Labour's old rival Gordon Brown may have a more realistic chance (which he still covets) of succeeding Blair if Labour wins. But if Labour loses, Cook already has all the exits covered. He would be unbeatable in 1997. Yet since that is not going to happen, where does Cook go from here? What, after a year or two, might be his sticking point in government? It is a question to apply to any of the important left-wingers in a prospective Blair cabinet — John Prescott, say, or Chris Smith, either of whom might balk at an undeflected Blair agenda. But it applies with particular force to Cook, because he is more important and, crucially, because he has an alternative up his sleeve. If all goes according to plan, a Scottish parliament with tax-raising powers will begin sitting in 2001. It will have been elected in the spring of 1999, following the passing of the necessary devolution bill and the earlier referendum. Scottish Westminster MPs will be allowed to stand for the Scottish parliament, but they will only be allowed to retain a dual mandate until the following UK general election. After that, they must choose one or the other. In practice, therefore, a Scottish Westminster MP who stands for the Scottish parliament will be giving notice that he or she intends to stand down from Westminster at the general election in 2001 or 2002. Cook has never hidden the possibility that he is tempted to opt for Scotland. Unlike George Robertson, Gordon Brown and (slightly less clearly) Donald Dewar, Cook is the only one of the four senior Labour Scots who gives the impression that he might be genuinely tempted to become the first Chief Minister of a devolved Scotland. But that would mean his giving notice to quit in only a couple of years time. And that in turn would mean thinking pretty seriously about it now. **E**VEN in Scotland, and certainly in England, people underestimate the transformation which devolution would bring to our collective politics. Yet think only a little, and it is possible to see a Cook-led Scotland changing the terms of political life not merely north of the border but south of it too. In 10 years time Scotland may be represented by fewer MPs at Westminster, but the bulk of them could be from a more nationalist Scottish Labour Party, whose role at Westminster would be as watchdogs of Scotland with Scotland as Britain's Catalonia. Cook could become our Jordi Pujol. King Robin of Scotland, kingmaker Robin in London. If you were Cook, how would you prefer to spend the next decade? Ten years of trying hard but probably failing to bust the alliance of Blair and Brown in a Labour Cabinet? Or three years at Westminster as foreign secretary, or perhaps spearheading the radical constitutional programme, followed by a new adventure in charge of Scotland? A man who has just turned 50 cannot be expected not to think about these things. And Robin Cook is doing just that.



Tension yesterday in Hebron — scene of the next flashpoint in the deadly West Bank drama. PHOTOGRAPH: GREG MARINO/VOIC

# A cancer at the heart of Israel

The candle-lit vigils and the car-stickers commemorating the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin are moving symbols of widespread grief, **Ian Black** writes, but they mask the hard, political truth: that the country is once again on the edge of the abyss of civil war — or worse

**N**OW THEY call it Rabin Square, that stark concrete expanse in front of Tel Aviv town hall, and tonight it will be lit by thousands of candles flickering in memory of a leader who promised Israel a better future and died with a song of peace on his lips. Many of Yitzhak Rabin's countrymen will weep at the rally marking a year since his assassination, but many will be grieving less for the prime minister with the gravelly voice than for a vision that has gone, and looks as if it cannot be restored. Rabin's family commemorated the murder last Thursday — the Hebrew date of his death — in a grim, introspective ceremony, though most of them gravelside who mourn him and what he represented will look this evening to that unlovely Tel Aviv square, the site of the killing, to reflect on its meaning, the devastating consequences it has already brought — and those it has yet to bring. It has been a long and painful year since that shocking Saturday night and, though it may be hard to believe, things look worse now, far worse even, than they did then. Before November 4, 1995 you could argue with reasonable certainty that under Rabin, warrior-turned-peace-maker, the century-long Arab-Israeli conflict was winding down.

look it could be the first and last time he orders such a move. One good reason is that it could kill him too. It is far from fanciful to imagine that Bibi, together with the left for a while, could be the last of a line, a career out of the pseudo-philosophical study of terrorism — shows the threat is taken seriously. Netanyahu became prime minister by a whisker, now the electoral arrangements gave him a personal mandate to rule whatever the composition of the coalition he put together. But since entering office in May he has become a figure of fun, combining arrogance with shortsightedness, insulting the Arabs, alienating Israel's elites and frittering away the dignity of leadership in a society that can be cruelly judgmental at the best of times. Netanyahu is part of the problem facing his country, but he is also a symptom of a deeper paralysis: personally he looks to wider horizons, is mesmerised by the good relations with the United States that allow Israel to punch above its weight internationally, but at home he is also bound by those who look inwards and backwards, religious fundamentalists and narrow-minded nationalists who are inspired more by Tehran than New York. Too many Israelis recalled as they stared into the abyss of civil war: for one Likud minister the assassination was no more than "a slip", an individual aberration that should not be used to tar an entire section of the population — those who do not accept that Palestinians are as entitled to a state as Israelis are. Last year Bibi called it McCarthyism to say that he was guilty of "incitement" because of his furious campaign against Oslo. But on Thursday Leah Rabin looked away

in stony silence as he laid a wreath on her husband's grave. Liberal Israelis now admit that they fell victim to a dangerous illusion, ignoring the growing strength of the right, of fundamentalist intolerance and mystical religion, because in the two honeymoon years between Oslo and the intifada the world had changed so dramatically for the better: the Rabin-Arafat handshake was that rare event — a photo-opportunity that really meant something. It represented an historic reconciliation, and if — as Arafat's Palestinian critics charged — it meant surrender to Israel's terms, humiliating recognition that Zionism had won, then it was one which, viewed dynamically, as a process, promised more than they could ever hope to achieve by violence. And it was genuine: Rabin's conversion was not a tactical shift, a ploy to trap the Palestinians in banisters. True, the terms of Oslo were too limited and its benefits for the Palestinians too few. But the process could have developed, and was doing so until Hamas' bombs claimed 38 Israeli lives last February and March and did so much to guarantee Netanyahu's victory. Oslo brought real benefits, in inward investment, tourism, international acceptability and diplomatic kudos — normally, in a word, that showed that a career out of the pseudo-philosophical study of terrorism worked wonders, even when the really tough issues — settlements, Jerusalem and final status — were on hold. Jordan joined Egypt in the circle of peace. And Rabin, with the PLO leader, Security, the old warhorse was saying, meant peace. People genuinely miss him — even if the overall effect of the candlelit vigils, the sad, jockey bumps and the memorial albums is sometimes cloying and self-indulgent, and masks the tougher political truths that his death exposed. One of them was touched on this week by the chief of staff of the Israel Defence Forces, the position Rabin held at the hour of maximum glory in 1967, before the taste of victory went sour. Major-General Amnon Shahak warned that the army, once revered as the repository of Israel's national identity, was becoming a "punch-bag" for the frustrations of politicians. Shahak complained that playing the stock exchange or travelling abroad were now more admired than volunteering for the elite army units whose ranks are now filled by religious youngsters, better

versed in Torah than technology, and more likely to obey their rabbi than their platoon commander. Rabin and his generals got on famously well, but under Netanyahu they have been frozen out. The security services let it be known that they were not consulted about the opening of the Jerusalem tunnels, the subtext being that you have the opportunity to make peace, you should not squander it. ISRAEL'S men on horseback are not about to storm the Knesset, but they do want a settlement — more than their government. Shahak and his staff know, as Rabin knew, that the cancer of occupation was eating into their own society, that chasing Palestinian children through the alleys of Nablus and Gaza was wearing down the motivation of the Israeli soldier. Soon they could be there again, but this time fighting an armed revolt that will make the Intifada look tame. In 1988, at the height of the uprising, Rabin called on his men to break Palestinian bones. Later he recognised that the status quo could not be sustained and he changed. But the brutality remains: in the last few days one West Bank settler has been charged with beating a 10-year-old Palestinian boy to death. Another threw scalding tea at a left-wing Israeli MP. The violence in Hebron, the violence will go on. Now winds from the north are casting a new chill. Opinion is divided about the likelihood of a short spring war with Syria, though a limited strike by Hafez al-Assad on the Golan front, or a few Scuds loosed off at the Israeli rear, might galvanise international efforts to save the peace that Rabin made. War could also bring down the Netanyahu government. But it is easier to deal with the tough questions about Jerusalem and the settlements, to crack down on the right-wingers and the skullcap-wearers preparing to fight for Hebron with Golan rifles, or to re-open the window of opportunity that has slammed shut in the last year? Outside pressure might help. Jacques Chirac's grand coalition, a new coalition that Europeans, as well as Americans, care about the Middle East, though their leverage is limited. Malcolm Rifkind, due here tomorrow, will not get far with calls to ease restrictions on Palestinians. But he should press on anyway. European support strengthens Arafat, but Israel only really listens to America. After the Gulf War George Bush cajoled Yitzhak Shamir into attending the Madrid peace conference — the historic start of negotiations between Israel and all its Arab enemies. There are no quick fixes now. Though in the longer term a re-elected Bill Clinton could persuade Israelis that they need to be saved from themselves, that more than \$3 billion in annual aid may not be the best way to do it, and that the price of not having a settlement with the Palestinians will be too great to bear. For the moment though, grieving for Yitzhak Rabin and contemplating their bitter, consuming divisions, Israelis look more than ever like their biblical forebears — a people that dwells alone.

# Oxfam Tragedy in Eastern Zaire

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**TODAY'S** essayist, Ian Black, is the Guardian's diplomatic editor. He was its Jerusalem correspondent from 1984 to 1993 and was commended in the British Press Awards for his coverage of the intifada. He is the author of *Israel's Secret Wars*, a regular contributor to Middle Eastern affairs for *The Economist* and *The Washington Post* and the *Economist* and the *Washington Post*.







Asia-Pacific billions the ultimate prize as technology shrinks the globe

BT bids to join big-hitters

Tony May

CITY analysts last night scrambled back to their desks to digest the implications of BT's mega-bid for the US telecoms group MCI.

The deal, which will make the merged group the second-biggest telecommunications company in the world, exceeded only by AT&T, came too late for many dealers, who had already left for home.

However, as the details of the \$33 billion merger plan seeped out, there was the expectation of hectic trading when business resumes on Monday.

In swallowing a company half its own size, BT risks damaging its share price and straining its finances in the short term, but believes the

prize in the mid to long term is dazzling.

BT knows that size is everything in an age when digital communication is crucial to economic prosperity in the developed world, and it wants to lead the race to connect the 80 per cent of the world's population who, according to the UN International Telecommunications Union, have no access to a telephone.

The biggest prizes are to be found in the Asia-Pacific region, which has 2200 billion to spend on new telecommunications systems over the next five years.

BT and MCI will be among the biggest hitters in a pack that includes the French and German telecoms companies, which have linked with Sprint of the US to form Global One; and AT&T, which has set up World Partners with 16 companies.

Other groups have formed alliances around the globe, some with a single project in mind while others have a longer-term strategy.

BT and MCI have been linked since 1994, when BT paid \$4.5 billion for a 20 per cent stake in MCI.

Michael Rowney, executive vice-president of ventures and alliances for MCI, said the two companies had already hammered out a broad

agreement to give each other the right to make purchases or form partnerships as a team.

BT and MCI divided up their global strategy. BT had the leadership in the forging of European acquisitions and partnerships, while MCI did the same in the Americas. But neither has a big presence in the Asia-Pacific region, where the prizes are biggest.

Economists expect China's economy to overtake the US early next year, but first it will need world-class communications. It is laying 14.5 million lines a year — about half of BT's UK network — but so far only 2 per cent of its 1.2 billion population have telephone lines and it will take 10 years for it to have the kind of service Europeans have long expected.

Since BT and MCI joined forces the game has become ever more complex as the distinctions between communications technologies have blurred. A growing web of optical fibres is carrying speech, faxes, banking transactions, computer data, television, and video.

New services such as secure networks for multinational financial institutions, smartcard payphones and personal numbers will add to the impetus.

Murdoch's News Corp to build a direct broadcast satellite network, although this has reportedly now failed.

MCI employs 50,000 people in 70 countries and generates more than \$15 billion in revenue.

New telecommunications contender which aims to go the distance

MCI, the second-largest long-distance telephone company in the US, has spent its life snapping at the heels of its bigger rival, AT&T, writes Mark Tran in New York.

Founded in 1968, MCI was the first company to

challenge the old Bell system on long-distance calls, building a reputation as an astute marketer and grabbing 20 per cent of the \$75 billion (\$45 billion) long-distance business. But with deregulation of the industry, MCI has its eye on

the \$500 billion integrated communications market — long distance, local, wireless and Internet access.

To spread the risks, in 1994 MCI sold a 20 per cent stake to BT for \$4.5 billion. In January, it announced a joint venture with Rupert

Sterling's rise alarms exporters

Sarah Ryle

F EARS that a surge in sterling against key foreign currencies could pile on the pressure for British exporters emerged last night, casting a shadow over fresh signs of a recovery in manufacturing.

As the pound hit a two-and-a-half-year high, moving close to the 2.50 level against the German mark, industry leaders spoke of growing concern for competitiveness in a relatively weak overseas market.

City analysts said speculation that interest rates could rise again before the general election had boosted the currency further. It surged to DM2.49 before settling at DM2.48, and rose against the dollar to 1.64.

"Sterling is experiencing a number of positive factors: its EMU safe-haven status, higher oil prices and firming economic growth," James McKay, international economist at Paine Webber, said.

Douglas Godden, head of economic policy at the CBI, said: "There are growing worries among exporters at the effect of sterling's rise on their business. They will be even more concerned if the pound rises above DM2.50 and stays there."

A British Chambers of Commerce spokesman said a strong pound would hit key sectors like engineering, automobiles and aerospace. "British exporters not only face a strong pound but have to reckon with a weakened mark and the poor economic climate elsewhere in Europe."

The concern over exports was contained to some extent by yesterday's Purchasing Managers' Index (PMI) which registered the fastest expansion for 18 months, underpinned by strengthening domestic demand.

A surge in new orders, to the highest level since September 1994, boosted the overall index to 54.5, signalling accelerating expansion.

The Chartered Institute of Purchasing and Supply, which conducts the monthly snapshot of manufacturing activity, said orders were strongest for consumer goods, fuelled by the pick-up in retail demand, but reported a sharp increase in purchases of investment goods. It welcomed signs that recruitment intentions rose.

CIPS director-general Peter Thomson said: "Given the strength of demand reported by manufacturers of all types of goods, there is every chance this increase in employment is set to continue." City analysts pointed to the fresh evidence of tightening in the labour market as a possible economic justification for Chancellor Kenneth Clarke's decision to raise base rates to 6 per cent earlier this week.

Although prices in the sector are still falling, according to the PMI, analysts warned that the latest evidence of a strengthening manufacturing sector — which the Chancellor is known to view as a guide to the underlying health of the whole economy — could increase the prospect of another rise in base rates.

David Walton, economist at investment bank Goldman Sachs, said: "To keep inflation under firm control, base rates may need to rise to around 6.5 per cent in coming months."

The Chancellor's panel of independent advisers was divided about the need to change monetary policy, its regular report on the economy showed yesterday. Written (and printed) before the rate rise on Wednesday, the divided opinion on whether to tighten policy or leave it on hold lessened the report's impact on the markets.

Market fears for inflationary pressure in the US lessened last night as the latest jobs figures showed a rise in employment last month, but left the unemployment and average earnings rates unchanged.

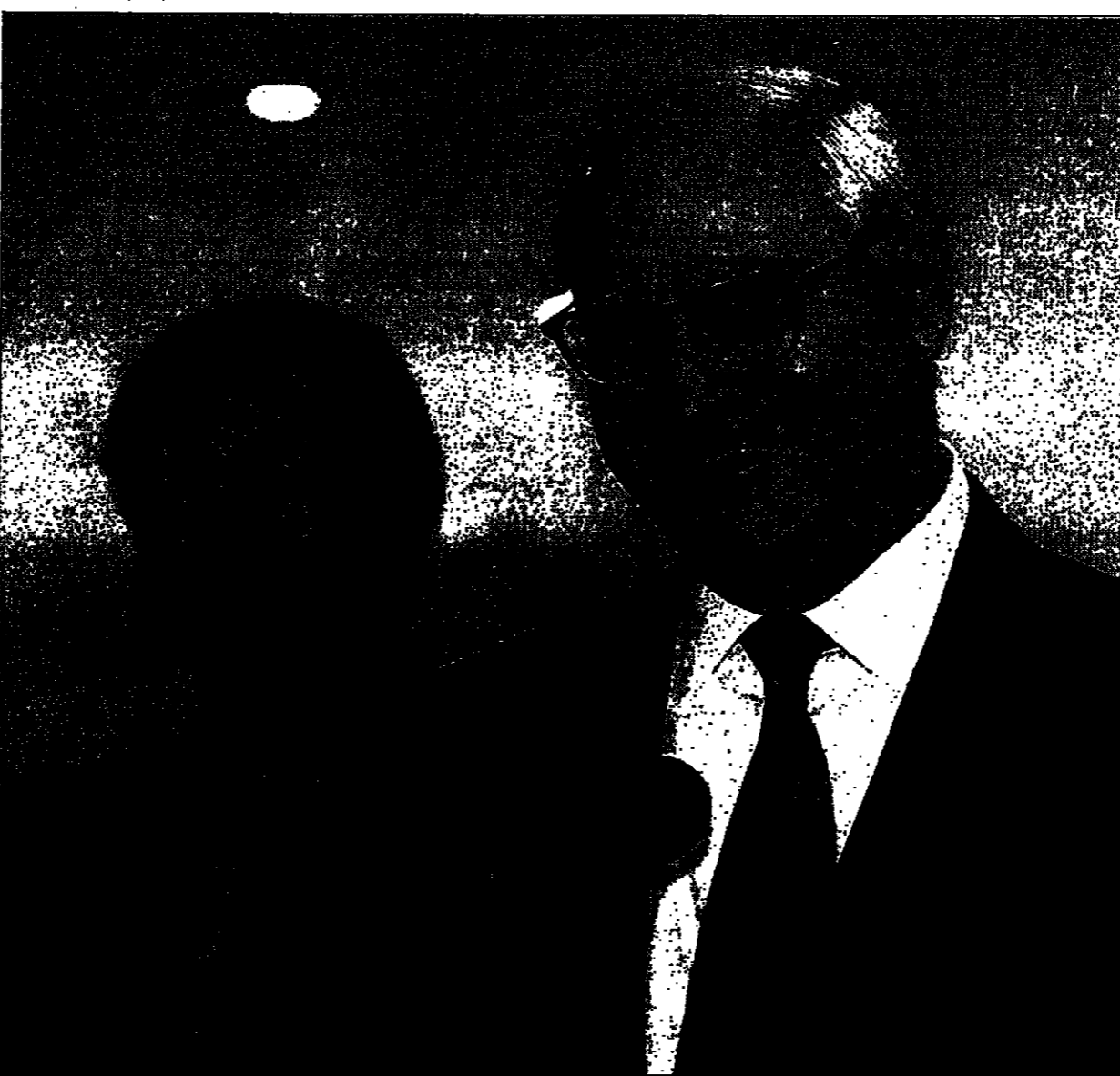
On the up



PMI



M&S gets back to business in bomb-scarred Manchester



MARKS & Spencer returned in strength yesterday to Manchester, where its main regional branch was destroyed by the IRA bomb in June, writes Tony May.

Two large temporary branches were opened in the city centre by chairman Sir Richard Greenbury (right), flanked by the rival

managers of Manchester United and City, Alex Ferguson (left) and Steve Coppell.

Sir Richard promised a "state of the art" flagship store when rebuilding of the bombed Arndale Centre area begins in earnest next year. Playing on the North's football rivalry, he said: "We've just opened a

major new store in Newcastle — and we can't have a bigger store in Newcastle than Manchester."

The bombing will have affected the group's profits — it had annual sales of about \$80 million — but Sir Richard is still expected to report on Tuesday a 14 per cent rise in profit to \$443 million for the first

half of the year, putting the group on course to push full-year profits past \$1 billion for the first time.

The opening of a food store in Spring Gardens and clothes department in part of the Lewis's building, coincided with the launch of late-night Christmas shopping.

PHOTOGRAPH: CHRIS LOUFTE

Digital TV decoder will cost £300

Ian King

SATELLITE broadcaster BSkyB said yesterday that the set-top box decoder viewers will need to receive digital television could cost up to £300.

BSkyB, which is thought to be talking to possible partners like British Telecom about a potential link-up on digital television, said this would have to be subsidised. "There are a lot of discussions going on as to how we do that, but we are confident we will proceed to take advantage of new technology."

Speaking at BSkyB's annual meeting in London

yesterday, chairman Gerry Robinson repeated the group's determination to forge ahead in the digital revolution in Britain and in Germany, where it can take a stake of up to 49 per cent in DFL, the satellite broadcaster run by the Kirch group.

Mr Robinson's comments came as BSkyB announced a 31 per cent jump in first quarter pre-tax profits, to \$66 million, while the number of paying subscribers climbed to 5.65 million.

BSkyB defeated a shareholder rebellion over a rule change protecting two of its directors, Frenchmen Michel Crepon and Jerome Seydoux, from having to be re-elected

at future meetings. The company said the move was needed because 17 per cent shareholder changes had demerged, transferring its shares to Pathé, which had no automatic boardroom place.

But Pirce, the corporate governance consultancy, argued directors should be answerable to all shareholders. Stuart Bell, Pirce's research director, backed by John Callum, of the West Midlands pension fund, told the meeting the move was a "poor example of corporate governance practice". Mr Robinson said the rule change was "in effect allowing a name change from Chargeurs to Pathé", and that the arrangement had been

laid out in BSkyB's flotation prospectus. He said BSkyB had won support from 98 per cent of its shareholders.

Deputy managing director David Chance insisted BSkyB was still in talks with Time Warner about the new Warner Channel, which was due to have been launched by BSkyB yesterday.

Earlier, there had been speculation that Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation, which owns 40 per cent of BSkyB, had forced the group to pull the plug on the channel in retaliation for Warner's backing of its Fox News channel in the US.

BSkyB shares closed down 10p at 588 1/2p.

Notebook

Test of greatness for stalwart Kohl



Mark Milner

GERMANY'S chancellor, Helmut Kohl, this week became the second longest holder of the office in history. On Thursday he overtook Konrad Adenauer for length of service and only Bismarck who, as the Economist perennially pointed out, never had to submit himself to the judgment of the ballot box, has served for longer.

Apart from physical size and longevity of service, the two men have something else in common. Both were instrumental in promoting German unity. It was Bismarck, the Iron Chancellor, who did the job originally, Mr Kohl who was responsible for bringing East and West Germany back together after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

There the similarity might be thought to end. The jovial, apparently provincial Mr Kohl would appear to have little in common with Bismarck: a Prussian Junker born and bred, much given to wearing military uniform.

Their approach to the divided Germanies which confronted them was also very different. Some argue that Bismarck's motivation was Prussian rather than German. "The unification of Germany was incidental, a by-product of his never-ending pursuit of Prussian interests," according to historian David Thomson in his classic text Europe since Napoleon. There was nothing incidental about Mr Kohl's approach to German reunification, just as there is nothing incidental about his determination to pursue closer European integration.

While Bismarck battled (three wars in less than a decade) to forge a Prussian Germany, Mr Kohl has sought to allay fears of a German Europe by making his country one of the best Europeans. Bismarck used the strength of the Prussian army, Mr Kohl the strength of the German mark.

Thus in 1990 Mr Kohl pushed through German monetary union — using the then West Germany's wealth to oil the wheels of political change. Now Mr Kohl is using European Monetary Union as part of his strategy to develop a structure in which (hopefully) Germany and its neighbours will feel comfortable with each other.

BUT just as Bismarck did not always see eye to eye with the military establishment on which his policy ultimately relied, so too Mr Kohl's campaign has not made him popular with a key part of the country's economic establishment — the Bundesbank.

Five years ago Mr Kohl clashed with the Bundesbank over the terms for German monetary union. The central bank was strongly opposed to Chancellor Kohl's plan to swap East German marks for Deutsche Marks on a one-for-one basis.

The political allure, of course, was irresistible but the exchange rate made much of the former East German industry uncompetitive overnight. Both East and West Germany have paid a stiff price — the former in the shape of high unemployment,

the latter through heavy transfers, around DM500 billion and still counting.

Now Mr Kohl is coming under fire for his determination to press ahead with European Monetary Union. Not that the Bundesbank is saying that monetary union is a bad thing per se. But it is worried that it will be carried out on the wrong terms.

This may sound odd. The conditions are already laid down in the Maastricht Treaty and once seemed sacred. Now, however, what appeared set in stone is looking shaky. The treaty allows for a degree of interpretation.

Countries in breach of the government deficit or public debt criteria (limited to 3 per cent and 60 per cent of gross domestic product respectively) can still be allowed to qualify for monetary union if they are believed either to be in the process of rectifying the problem or if the ceiling has been exceeded only as a result of exceptional circumstances. Some governments are also looking to exceptional circumstances in a bid to make their budgetary arithmetic add up.

The France Telecom's near \$5 billion transfer to the government budget — a ploy which was this week given the nod by the European Commission, Chancellor Kohl has also been reported as supplying comforting words to the premiers of several countries whose political determination to qualify for the first wave of monetary union might be thought to outstrip the degree of their economic convergence.

AS THE former Labour chancellor, Lord Healey, noted with characteristic directness this week: "France, Italy, Spain and the Netherlands hope to meet the criteria, but only by hitting the figures." Even Germany's own ability to meet the strictest reading of the terms has been cast into doubt.

None of this is going down too well at the Bundesbank's headquarters in Frankfurt. (When the European Commission gave its backing to the inclusion of the France Telecom pension transfer in the government's budget calculations, the response was clear. "Wrong," said Bundesbank council member Klaus-Dieter Kuschelbacher.)

The Bundesbank is, in a very direct way, the custodian of the country's currency. For many Germans the mark has become the symbol of the post-war economic success.

A large section of the population does not want to give it up. For them the euro will not represent the route to a stronger currency and lower interest rates — the reward held out to others. At best the euro would simply be the mark by another name.

More likely Germany will face a weaker currency and higher interest rates. There are even those who suggest Mr Kohl would like a weaker mark to help German industrial competitiveness, that is perhaps going too far, but the more the criteria are watered down, the weaker the euro will be.

Hence the angst in Frankfurt and elsewhere. Though the Bundesbank has never courted popularity, its hard-line stance strikes a chord with many.

This should give Mr Kohl cause to pause. Bismarck's redrawing of the map of Europe left a permanent legacy. Mr Kohl's legacy will be different. But he needs to get his EMU sums absolutely right. The alternative could be long division.

Three bid for PFI project

Pauline Springett

THREE consortiums led by overseas banks have been shortlisted for the transfer to the private sector of more than 700 buildings occupied by the Department of Social Security.

The three bidders are Partnership Property Management, headed by US investment bank Goldman Sachs; Mapeley Holdings, led by US bank Nationsbank; and Opus, led by Japanese securities house Nomura.

The ultimate winner will be announced next year. Peter Lilley, the Social Security Secretary, said: "Each of the consortiums will be invited to submit a bid which details how they propose to meet the Department's requirements. The bids will be evaluated in early 1997 to identify the most suitable supplier."

The successful bidder will assume responsibility, for a period of 25 years, for managing the properties as well as putting in place an invest-

ment programme aimed at upgrading them. Estimates of the value of the deal vary enormously — anything between \$1 billion and \$4 billion has been mooted — because property experts cannot agree about the value of the properties involved, many of which are in need of refurbishment.

The annual rent income of the 1.7 million-square metre portfolio is about £170 million, about the same as that of the UK's fourth-largest property group.

The controversial transfer proposal, unveiled earlier this year, is the largest property deal proposed so far under the government's Private Finance Initiative, which aims to encourage private companies to invest in large government construction and property projects.

The three consortia have been whittled down from a list of six which also included UK bank NatWest Markets, facilities management group Pell Frischman and quantity surveyors Bucknall.

Whitbread fancies pizza chains

Ian King

WHITBREAD, the brewing and leisure corporation, confirmed yesterday it was in talks to buy BrightReasons, the restaurant group which owns the Pizzaland and Bella Pasta chains.

The deal is expected to value the company at \$50 million. Sources close to both companies said last night that talks between Whitbread and BrightReasons, Britain's largest unquoted restaurant chain, were well advanced and that an announcement was imminent.

BrightReasons, which owns over 180 outlets, has been put up for sale by its owners, venture capital groups Mercury Asset Management and Morgan Grenfell, who have been looking for a way to realise the value of their investment since BrightReasons pulled its planned flotation in 1994.

The likely deal, which was first reported in the Guardian, is expected to see the departure of chairman Michael Guthrie, who bought Leisure boss, who bought most of the chain from Grand Metropolitan five years ago.

Mr Guthrie, with the rest of the management team he assembled for the buy-out, is expected to pocket an estimated \$8 million from the sale, which may be used to buy a stake in another quoted com-

pany. Whitbread, which already runs some 248 Pizza Hut restaurants in a joint venture with America's PepsiCo, is thought to have beaten a rival approach to BrightReasons from Deep Pan Pizza-owner City Centre Restaurants.

It is understood that Whitbread plans to convert many of the BrightReasons sites to its own brands, including Cafe Rouge and Dome, the brands it snapped up in August's \$133 million acquisition of Pelican Group.

But Whitbread, which now enjoys Britain's second biggest restaurant sales after McDonald's, could sell the Pizza Pizza brand. Whitbread shares closed up 18 1/2p at 784 1/2p last night.

News in brief

Harding's successor

John Goldman, the new chairman of the Benfield insurance group, has been appointed non-executive chairman of Benfield & Rea Investment Trust. He replaces Matthew Harding, the vice-chairman of Chelsea Football Club, who was killed in a helicopter crash last week.

Mr Goldman has worked at Benfield with Mr Harding since the mid-1980s and was managing director of the Benfield insurance group.

Bid recommended Shareholders of TR Technology, the UK's top-performing investment trust, were yesterday urged by its manager,

Henderson Investors, to accept a takeover bid from a new fund also run by Henderson. Holders of ordinary shares in the \$288.5 million TR Technology Trust, which is due to be wound up in April 1998, were advised to roll over investments to the Henderson Technology Trust.

Salomon cleared

The London arm of Wall Street bank Salomon Brothers will no longer be subjected to special surveillance by City regulators, the Securities and Futures Authority said yesterday. Salomon was put on special watch in October last year after it emerged that computer book-keeping errors had generated millions of pounds' worth of phantom earnings. The SFA said yes-

Tobacco arrests

Two former chairmen of ITC, the Indian tobacco group in which BAT industries has a 31 per cent stake, were arrested yesterday in connection with alleged foreign exchange violations. Kishan Lal Chugh and Jagdish Narain Sapru were arrested in Calcutta by the finance ministry's Enforcement Directorate, which on Wednesday arrested four other men.

Fewer go bust

The number of companies declared insolvent in England and Wales between July and September was 3,423, 2 per cent down on the previous quarter.

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# Finance Guardian

## Canny Ken's credibility bid

The Chancellor caught the City, the Bank of England and even his own backbenchers napping when he hoisted interest rates. Will his mask of austerity slip to save the Tory bacon on election day?

Report: LARRY ELLIOTT



The crying game... Chancellor Clarke gets an earful from a Nottingham pensioner in the 1992 election campaign

PHOTOGRAPH: RICHARD RAYNOR

**W**HILE the Chancellor set off from the Treasury through rush-hour traffic on Wednesday night for a live interview on Channel 4, officials at the Bank of England were putting in some unscheduled overtime. Like almost everybody else in the City, the Old Lady had been caught unawares by Kenneth Clarke's decision to hoist base rates by a quarter-point to 6 per cent. In the Bank's case it was a pleasant surprise, since it had been urging the Chancellor to take just such a step. However, it did mean that officials at Threadneedle Street had to rewrite the quarterly Inflation Report, due out next Wednesday, to take account of the impact of the monetary tightening on the economic outlook over the next two years. While the Chancellor was being grilled, and the Bank was fiddling with its equations, Westminster's bars and restaurants were filling up with MPs trying to work out what it all meant for the Budget and beyond. Was this a fiendishly clever plot from Canny Ken — or pre-election political hara-kiri? The consensus view was that the Chancellor had made a Faustian bargain with the Bank's governor, Eddie George, trading a small increase in base rates for a more generous Budget later this month. Previous Conservative Chancellors saw the political merits of cutting taxes ahead of the elections of 1983, 1987 and 1992, and reaped a dividend each time. But this explanation seems a bit glib. There has been little indication that Clarke is preparing for a gambler's last throw on November 23, staking everything on hefty tax cuts aimed at wooing all those disgruntled C1s and C2s back into the fold. A month before last year's Budget, backbenchers were ratcheting up speculation that tax cuts would be worth £5 billion, £6 billion, even £8 billion. This time, everything is much more low-key. If anything, expectations have been managed down in recent weeks, so that the betting is now on tax cuts of £2 billion rather than the £3 billion predicted in the late summer. Even this modest reduction comes at a price: cuts in public spending of at least an equivalent amount. While not quite up to the standard of Sir Stafford Cripps, who insisted that Attlee hold the February 1950 election before the Budget so that there could be no suggestion that he had tried to bribe the electorate, this is remarkably restrained for a Government on course for spectacular defeat. The suspicion lingers that it is all a pretence, and that the mask of austerity will drop in 24 days' time to reveal a far more expansive Chancellor. Clarke denies this, both publicly and privately. His view is that the only way the Government can recover its reputation for competence, lost on Black Wednesday, is to do the right thing for the economy and let the politics look after themselves. With the public sector borrowing requirement still far too high for comfort, his view is that topping two or three pence off the base rate in the Budget would be received badly in the financial markets, and that this displeasure

would colour voters' perceptions as well. Like the Prime Minister, the Chancellor is rather proud of the Government's economic record. He believes the Conservatives have a good story to tell, even if some of the pages of the book — the weakness of investment, the beneficial impact of devaluation, the erosion of the tax base caused by the casualisation of the labour market — have been torn out. All this suggests that the City and Westminster may have misjudged the thinking behind Wednesday's base-rate move. Having assumed incorrectly that the Chancellor would refrain from tightening monetary policy for the next six months, they may be wrong again to assume that he is now set on a Budget giveaway. A more subtle analysis is that this week's events give Mr Clarke a credibility cushion over the coming weeks and months. He will probably need this because, as Goldman Sachs and the Institute for Fiscal Studies said in their recent Green Budget, the City may need a leap of faith to believe the Budget arithmetic.

**A**FTER all the tough talking by the Chancellor, the markets will demand that tax cuts are matched by spending cuts. But there are spending cuts and spending cuts — ones that actually affect programmes and ones that remove the odd billion at the stroke of a pen. No prizes for guessing what to expect this time. Ever since the spending round began in earnest five months ago, ministers have been beating a path to Clarke's door, seeking more money for their departments. They are hoping that the Chief Secretary, William Waldegrave, will follow the example of his predecessor, David Mellor, in 1991, and let public spending rip ahead of the election. In their hearts, they know that there is absolutely no chance of this happening, not least because Mellor's profligacy is one of the reasons the Government's finances are in such an appalling mess. But it has still been a bloody fight. Clarke and Waldegrave have been pointing out that lower-than-expected inflation should allow ministers to de-

### Tory election budgets

How the chancellors of the time tried to win the voters:

Year	Chancellor	Key Features
1983	Sir Geoffrey Howe	£14.5 billion of tax cuts
1987	John Major	£27 billion of tax cuts
1992	Kenneth Clarke	£2 billion of tax cuts

liver the same volume of services with smaller cash totals. The message has been that there is no gain on the tax side without pain on the spending side. The difficulty is in finding real savings from ministers who can see the logic of public expenditure restraint for every Government department bar their own. With health trusts already warning that hospitals are running out of money, education becoming a key electoral battleground, and Michael Howard's tough stance on crime ratcheting up the law and order budget, there are few easy targets. Defence has already been pruned, civil service numbers slashed, local government squeezed. But all is not lost. There are countless sneaky ways the Treasury can juggle the numbers, dressing up phantom reductions in expenditure as the real thing. There is, for example, the temptation to make deep cuts in public capital spending predicated on compensatory increases in money for infrastructure projects from the Private Finance Initiative. The markets know this. They have seen Chancellors make all sorts of grandiose claims for public spending control in the past, only to see big overshoots when the numbers have actually come in. But after the base-rate rise this week, they just might be more forgiving if Clarke's public spending cuts look as if they have been achieved with smoke and mirrors rather than an axe.

sterling nudging DM2.50 against the German mark, up 11 pfennigs in the past month. Its trade-weighted index against a basket of world currencies has risen by almost 5 per cent over the same period — a sizeable buffer against any post-Budget jitters on the foreign exchanges. Of course, if the Budget is as Crippsian as Clarke insists it will be, sterling could rise still further, stifling calls for further increases in base rates and perhaps even prompting speculation about a pre-election cut. Despite the limited scope for generosity, the Budget will still be intensely political. Clarke is no Cripps, and knows that any tax cuts will start to affect pay packets in April, a month before the likeliest polling day of May 1. In addition, he will be doing his best to wrong-foot Labour, putting it on the defensive over tax, as it was for the whole of the 1992 campaign. The obvious move is to cut one penny off the basic rate, bringing it down to 23 pence, while at the same time widening the lower 20 pence band. That will bring the Government closer to its long-term aim of reducing the basic rate to 20 pence. This would cost between £2.5 billion and £3 billion, but Clarke could claw some of the money back elsewhere. The IFS believe one obvious target is the £300 million cost of tax relief on profit-related pay. Labour is well prepared. It has estimated that the tax increases announced in the two Budgets of 1993 raised taxes by the equivalent of seven pence on the basic rate of income tax. If the basic rate is cut again to 23 pence after last year's reduction, Gordon Brown will simply say "seven pence on, two pence off". Clarke must know this, and will be looking for something that will deliver a bigger political punch. One possibility would be to pre-announce a phased reduction in the basic rate, with a one pence cut in each of the next four years, bringing it down to 20 pence by the end of the millennium. If — and it's a big if — he can make the sums stand up, it would not only put Labour on the spot but would also provide a reason for giving the Conservatives a fifth term in office. To be frank, Mr Major hasn't got a lot else to offer.

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**Despite the limited scope for generosity, the Budget will be intensely political. Clarke is no Cripps and knows tax cuts will affect pay packets just before polling day**

### Quick Crossword No. 8273

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**Across**

- Motor-cycle rally — clambers (anag) (8)
- Egg-shaped (4)
- Force, urge (5)
- Peplex, baffle (7)
- It's thrown around in gymnasia (8,4)
- Appoint (5)
- Throws out (5)
- Neutralised (12)
- Omitted (4,3)
- EG, a person from Baghdad (5)

**Down**

- Uttered (4)
- Keep down (7)
- It's sat on by dairymaids (7,5)
- Seed used in soups (5)
- Football team — house (5)
- Lacking energy, enthusiasm (5)
- An interrupting exclamation (12)
- Branch of mathematics (8)
- Destroy body by burning (7)
- Squirm (5)
- Unhealthy — not worthy (5)
- Touch gently — on the lips (4)

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The Guardian

# the week

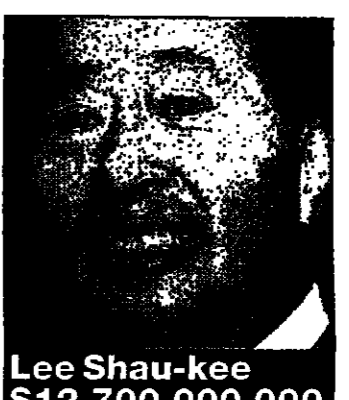
ILLUSTRATION BY DANIEL FIDLES



Five of the world's richest people are from the Far East. They are so wealthy that you must count their dollars in billions. But what do these fabulous fortunes add up to, asks **Andrew Higgins**

## Gold of the tigers

**A**SIA'S richest tycoon, a man so rich that he has more money than the Duke of Westminster, David Sainsbury, Sir James Goldsmith and Sir Evelyn Rothschild put together, learnt his capitalism from money-laundering. Not the fancy fiddles of drug smugglers, arms dealers and bank robbers but the real thing: elbow grease, soap and the occasional egg-white for extra sheen. The son of a gold merchant and money changer in southern China, Lee Shau-kee got his start scrubbing dirty bank-notes in the backroom of the family firm.



**Lee Shau-kee**  
\$12,700,000,000

"If the dollar bill looked cleaner you could get a higher exchange rate," says Mr Lee, now aged 88 and, according to the latest loads-money league table compiled by Forbes magazine, the leader of an Asian charge on the ranks of the world's super-rich. "We washed the notes to make them clean." And that, in a sense, is what most of Asia has been doing since the end of the second world war. Behind all the hyperbole, whether scare-mongering or chest-thumping about "economic miracles" and "tiger economies" lurks a very simple formula — the remorseless pursuit of even the most wafertin margins of profit.

Japanese, Yoshiaki Tsutsumi, topped the world's richest list — is warning. Today with Tsutsumi pushed to seventh place and other Japanese ousted from the top 10 by their country's long recession, it is the rise of China and a hugely successful diaspora beyond its borders that excites much hype and hyperventilation. But, top-heavy with property developers and bereft of innovators in any of the technologies that will determine future wealth, this new batch of Asian billionaires does not resemble the praetorian guard of a new economic order. In many ways they are remarkably old-fashioned. The five on the Forbes Top 10 list are brilliant businessmen but they invented nothing, pioneered nothing and, except when they were younger, never really manufactured anything much either. The emergence of a predominantly ethnic Chinese Asian super-rich is certainly bad news, however, for aficionados — page 14

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the week that was

Them on them

The global view

Australian parliamentarians should have realized that as we approach the millennium of globalisation where human movement is indispensable for cooperation and development, no nation can be part of any world community if it continues to set up ideological, racial and religious barriers.

Editorial in the Jakarta Post, after an Australian MP warned that the country was in danger of being swamped by Asian immigrants.

Drunk while ruling over drunk driving cases, Villanova Town Justice James R Bradigan

has been censured by a state conduct commission. The Commission on Judicial Conduct found that between 1991 and 1993, Mr Bradigan heard two DWI cases and rendered decisions on two small claims cases while intoxicated himself.

A certain address attaches to Bob Dole's last-ditch efforts to narrow the presidential race. In his scramble for votes, Dole is rewriting history — his own and the nation's — and repudiating what had been a strong record on civil rights.

Us on us

The British view

Police officers receiving large payments while families of Hillsborough victims received very little may seem very unfair — but it was under a system carefully worked out by the law. Relatives who waited anxiously at Lime Street Station to see whether their family had returned, a brother who travelled to Sheffield to identify a victim's body and many who watched the horrific details on television, could not claim because under the rules they were too far from the event.

A shopowner has found out he is officially dead after his former wife declared him deceased following their separation 11 years ago. Avard Avil had since remarried. His death had been confirmed by two witnesses and his ex-wife even went to his funeral.

Mail bosses were forced to move a post box 200 metres down the road — after a series of unwanted deliveries from local vets. The pillar box on cut Lane, Rishton, had become a favourite stopping-off point for vets on their way to a park. But the stench of their doggy deposits was becoming too much for local posties.

A shopowner has found out he is officially dead after his former wife declared him deceased following their separation 11 years ago. Avard Avil had since remarried. His death had been confirmed by two witnesses and his ex-wife even went to his funeral.



THEME OF THE WEEK THE IT GIRLS

As a media phenomenon, the re-invention of the post-war image of the 'IT girl' would take some beating. It is a term that has become a household name, and one that is used to describe a woman who is not only attractive but also successful in her career.

slightly going to first name. The term 'IT girl' was first used in the 1930s to describe a woman who was not only attractive but also successful in her career. The term has since become a household name, and one that is used to describe a woman who is not only attractive but also successful in her career.

Media studies professor... The term 'IT girl' was first used in the 1930s to describe a woman who was not only attractive but also successful in her career. The term has since become a household name, and one that is used to describe a woman who is not only attractive but also successful in her career.

After the success of the... The term 'IT girl' was first used in the 1930s to describe a woman who was not only attractive but also successful in her career. The term has since become a household name, and one that is used to describe a woman who is not only attractive but also successful in her career.

HAVE YOU BEEN PAYING ATTENTION?



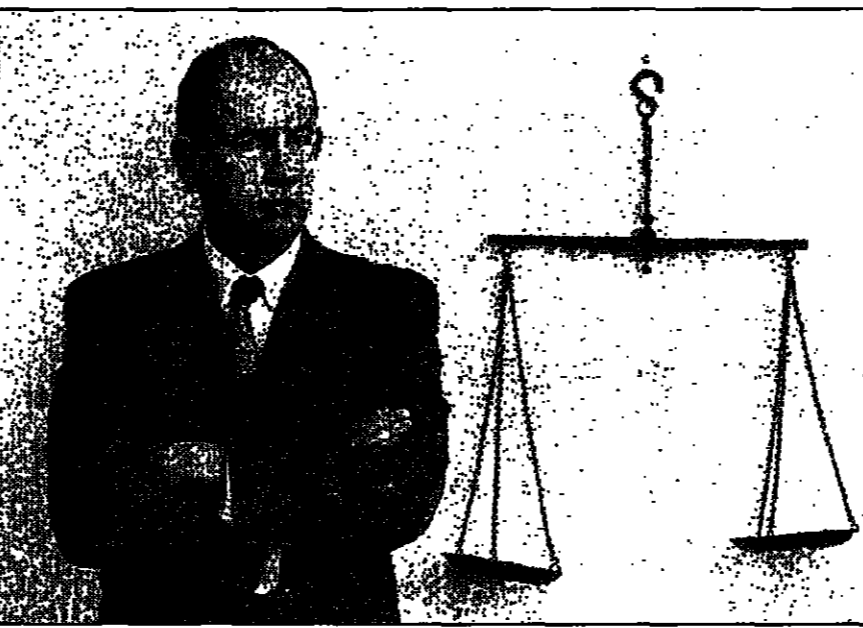
- 1. "Everybody thinks he walks on water, but he's not squeaky clean. He sought love and comfort somewhere else." Whose advice? (a) Geoffrey Boycott (b) Paul Gascoigne (c) Albert Einstein (d) Bob Dole
2. "He had a fantastic sun-tanned body and a nice big bum. His thighs and calves were very muscular." Whose? (a) Geoffrey Boycott (b) Paul Gascoigne (c) Albert Einstein (d) Bob Dole
3. "You will expect no affection from me and you will not reproach me for this." Whose loving sentiment? (a) Geoffrey Boycott (b) Paul Gascoigne (c) Albert Einstein (d) Bob Dole
4. Lee extremely miserable. Who and why?
5. Why did Britannia waive the royal?
6. Who said he wouldn't collect his prize? (a) Graham Swift (b) Salman Rushdie (c) Noel Gallagher (d) Danny Wilson
7. Who took a £7,000-a-week wage cut to get an extra half-hour in bed?
8. Stuffed by a Turkey. Who?
9. "There is nothing wrong with snipping as long as it is done with love." Whose discipline? (a) John Major (b) George Carey (c) Gillian Shepherd
10. Whose "coherent visual image"?
11. "I have been deeply impressed by his determination to address his problems and the progress that he has already made." Who was the forgiving Christian? (a) George Carey (b) Gillian Shepherd (c) Glenn Hoddle (d) Nigel de Gruchy
12. £23-a-night in a B&B. Whose budget weekend away?
13. Arguably the "coolest" place on the planet, according to Newsweek magazine. Where? (a) Moscow (b) Stovosage (c) London (d) Barcelona (e) Seattle
14. Unhappy returns for which 10-year-old?
15. A call on the mobile caused trouble for whom about the House. Who?
Answers, bottom left of this page.

A testimony of terror

This week last year October 26, 1995

JOHN LLOYD was looking forward to his parliamentary career. As Labour candidate for Exeter, he needed a 2.5 per cent swing to take the seat from the Tories. But he had reckoned without the storm which engulfed him when the Guardian revealed his South African past.

embarrassed by headlines saying "traitor" and "terrorist". The Prime Minister told the Commons: "I am wholly and utterly opposed to any act of terrorism, and I have no doubt the majority of people in Exeter will feel the same way." The Daily Mail pointed out that the story's source was Labour's left wing, angry at the deselection of Liz Davies in Leeds — exposing "the holowness at the heart of New Labour". It became a political football.



Welghed in the scales of justice... John Lloyd

While Labour initially supported his candidate, it gradually turned in and in May the NEC ordered Exeter to deselect him on the grounds that he had misled them. Lloyd still insists he had done nothing of the kind: "That was a trumped up charge. I kept hoping for a fair hearing, and I do feel a bit sore," he says.

them as well as of Lloyd. Ben Bradshaw of the BBC was named as the new candidate in June. Lloyd, whose support among Exeter Labour members remains strong, has been lending a hand to Bradshaw's campaign. Meanwhile, he is trying to rebuild his barrister's practice in Exeter which he says was "severely damaged" by the revelations of a year ago. A new account of the events of 23 years ago is published next week. Labour MP Peter Hain (who, at the age of 15 read the address at Harris's funeral, but has refused to comment on the Lloyd affair), has written a book, Sing the Beloved Country: the Struggle for the New South Africa (Fluto Press, £12.99). It includes a short, first-hand account of Lloyd's involvement.

Gold of the tigers

page 13 dos of the lives of the rich and famous. They are not people who invite Hello! magazine into their homes. "There is a difference between Chinese and foreigners," explains Lee. He is fourth richest man on the planet yet, unlike younger members of Asian tycoonery speaks no foreign language and rarely travels abroad. "Foreigners want a private plane or a yacht. I don't go on a yacht more than twice a year." Instead of buying or better building himself a grandiose villa, as befell Hong Kong's biggest property developer, Lee lives in an apartment block which he owns and which, at least in external decor, resembles nothing so much as an upscale sauna and massage parlour. A mock Venetian fountain squirts relentlessly near an entrance encrusted with fairy lights and gold trim. He has the top five floors, including a rooftop swimming pool, for himself and his children, who live on separate floors with their own families.

the richest man in the world, the software millionaire is worth some \$18 billion (£12 billion) — bigger than the budgets of some small countries. Having made all this money, Gates now clearly intends to enjoy spending at least some of it. He has splashed out £30 million to build a 46-room fantasy mansion overlooking Lake Washington near Seattle. Built into the side of a mountain, the house is crammed with computers and video screens, and is the temple to the technologies that so enriched its owner. Lee has donated lots of money too. But there the comparison ends. The beneficiaries of his largesse are far more staid: Oxford and a host of other academic institutions in Britain, the United States and China. Hong Kong has plenty of show-offs, as do Asia's other boom cities. "Their voracious conspicuous consumption, fuelled by the high-octane growth of Asia's 'tiger' economies, has been a bonanza for a small army of gilt-edge pedlars from Europe hawking Rolls-Royce, Mercedes, Cartier, Courvoisier or other brand-name totems of wealth. Yet move beyond the merely rich, who still want the world to know they have made it, and enter the stratosphere of real money and strange things start to happen. "Money is useless," says Lee, who has more of the stuff than any of Hong Kong's other 19 billionaires. If money is so useless, why on earth does he continue making it in such unimaginable quantities? His answer is revealing. "After a certain point you are deceiving yourself. A 100th or even a 500th of what I have is enough for all I need. Anything extra is just to give yourself a sense of satisfaction." Satisfaction? At what point is satisfaction sat? In the case of Lee, almost certainly never, he enjoys it too much. Like most Chinese magnates he is grooming his children to take over but has no intention of retiring soon. Perhaps no community has ever made money with as much zeal or success as the Chinese diaspora in East Asia. Numbering some 50 million people, it generates more money than the individual countries in which they live. An Australian survey estimated that if you put together all the ethnic Chinese scattered outside China's borders you would have a GDP

A grid of five black and white portraits of wealthy individuals with their names and net worths: Yoshiaki Tsutsumi (\$9,200,000,000), Tan Yu (\$7,000,000,000), Tsai Wan-lin (\$12,200,000,000), Li Ka-shing (\$10,600,000,000), and a large image of the Lippo Centre in Hong Kong with the caption 'Towering... Lippo Centre in Hong Kong'.

equivalent of \$450 billion a year. The money-making champions of the world's most nakedly capitalist societies have a problem, however: Despite much nonsense about Confucius as the agent of Asia's capitalist renaissance, the Confucian creed has in reality always frowned upon merchants as grubby, greedy and unworthy of real respect. This explains why, once they have made their billions — and set up their children to make sure the money-making stays in the family — a strange metamorphosis overtakes the public persona of Asia's super-rich. "My life is rather simple and I don't need much for my daily expenses. I would rather save my money for charitable donations," claimed Li Ka-shing, the world's sixth-richest man according to Forbes. He is Hong Kong's best known billionaire and, until a local woman won a gold medal for windsurfing at the Atlanta Olympics, the colony's greatest hero. In a rare newspaper interview last year, he claimed to prefer shoes with plastic soles "so I don't have to change them so frequently" and that he ate modest, almost monastic meals of vegetable and fish — "the kind you would usually feed your cat with". Known in Chinese-speaking communities across Asia as "Superman", Li controls a huge empire of property construction, power plants and other concerns, but presents himself as more interested in family values than the value of his shareholdings. The image took a serious dent when a magazine published a tittle-tattle about his private life and claims that his wife died of a drug overdose. All but one of the five Asian billionaires at the top of the Forbes list made the bulk of their fortunes on property. They bought low and sold high. The odd man out is Taiwan's Tsai Wan-lin, with wealth put at \$12.2 billion, who made his pile selling insurance, using friends in the ruling Kuomintang to secure a dominant franchise for his firm, Cathay Life. Commentators often juxtapose what they perceive as the feckless welfareism of Britain and Europe with the brash get-rich-quick credo of the "Asian model". To some extent the theory is supported by men like Lee Shau-kee. "Since boyhood I've always been interested in making money," he says. "Before the communists

same my family was doing business and we had to pay attention to currency rates. They would change every day. Each night, I calculated how much we had made with an abacus." The arithmetic is a great deal more complicated for him these days and property has replaced solled bank notes, but the basic calculations have remained the same. "If you have done something that works then do it time and time again and add to your success." Sent to Hong Kong in 1948 by his family as insurance against Mao Zedong's imminent victory, Lee began trading toothpaste, belts and other household goods. He then teamed up with two other up-and-coming businessmen, forming an alliance that would become known as the "three musketeers". They cut their first big property deal in 1966 with the purchase of a hotel in the New Territories that was later turned into an apartment building. He has been doing much the same thing ever since, confident that the demographic reality of a tiny territory crowded with more and more people will always drive up prices. Neither rioting in the 1960s nor the collapse of the local currency in the 1980s dented this simple but hugely lucrative strategy out of which he has created Henderson Land, Hong Kong's most profitable firm. Only war, he says, can slow this money-making machine. So is this the face of the future? Do Lee Shau-kee and Li Ka-shing and the three other Asian billionaires in the top 10 — with a combined fortune of over \$60 billion — represent the forces that will shape the next and, as we are already being told, Pacific century? Do they form the sharp economic edge of Asian values, a system of beliefs different from and in many ways hostile to the laissez-faire liberalism of the West? They certainly excel at what they do, but what they do will not change the world. It will only make parts of it richer. These are men who have made their fortune by playing the margins, making incremental change rather than quantum leaps. They are not pioneers of innovation or explorers of a new frontier. They may be reaching his dizzy heights of wealth but, for the time being, Bill Gates has little to fear.

- Quiz answers
1. (a) Bob Dole, whose disastrous presidential campaign was not helped by the revelation of an affair with Meredith Roberts during his first marriage.
2. (a) Geoffrey Boycott, according to St Ivo Red, one of the five moderns he allegedly bowled over.
3. (c) Albert Einstein, whose tough terms to his wife were revealed in a letter to be sold at Christie's in New York.
4. The New York cast of Les Misérables, sacked by producer Cameron Mackintosh who wants to freshen up the show.
5. Britannia Airways dropped the word Royal from its in-flight branding because it no longer has "positive associations".
6. (a) Salman Rushdie, who said he would refuse an EU literary prize unless he could collect it in person. The Danish government has refused him entry for the ceremony.
7. Chris Evans, whose Radio 1 show will now start half an hour later at 7am.
8. Manchester United, whose 40-year unbeaten home record in European competition ended with a 1-0 defeat by Turkish side Fenerbahce.
9. (a) George Carey, the Arch-basher of Canterbury.
10. The Church of England, which has adopted a new logo to help it "compete in the media marketplace".
11. (a) Glenn Hoddle, who included alleged wife-beater Paul Gascoigne in the squad for England's game against Georgia (Georgia, wrong out).
12. The Duchessa of York, who stayed with her daughters at a farmhouse B&B in the Dorsetshire coast.
13. (c) London.
14. The M25, London's road to nowhere, which celebrated its tenth birthday.
15. Tossa, Jowall, whose mobile rang during a debate on the Queen's Speech; and Gillian Shepherd, who was slapped down by the PM over the phone for supporting Labour.
How you rate
0-4: A good thrashing
5: Six of the best
10-14: It obviously never did you any harm
15: Mood perfect

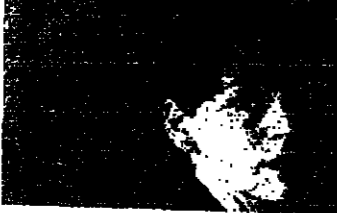
Large advertisement on the right side of the page, partially visible, featuring the word 'Just' and a portrait of a man.



Mikhail Gorbachev changed the world, now he spends his time drinking tea and pondering

# Just call me president

## THE JOANNA COLES INTERVIEW



**A**T THE Dorchester, Mikhail Gorbachev's driver is having a problem. The doorman won't let him keep the grey Daimler waiting outside the hotel reception, even for two minutes. Instead he must circle the traffic, stopping only when he sees Mr and Mrs Gorbachev emerge from the revolving door.

"But it's Gorbachev," says the driver incredulously. "He's a VIP." "I don't care," retorts the doorman peevishly, bristling in his racing-green and gold livery. "They're all VIPs here. I ask who the other VIPs are. 'Lionel Ritchie,' he says grandly, 'and the foreign minister of Northern Cyprus.'"

And so the purveyor of perestroika and one-time keeper of the nuclear key is summarily dismissed, just another celebrity checking out, a piece of political flotsam bobbing away on an ocean of obscurity. "He still likes to be called President," warns Pavel Faleshchenko, Gorbachev's interpreter. In a tense whisper as the ex-president arrives, flanked by three grim bodyguards. We are meeting in a private bar in the bowels of the hotel - if the Dorchester can be said to have bowels for, with its black and gold decor and endless mirrors, it is an unnecessarily fussy place. "I like the Dorchester very much," Gorbachev says as he enters, "it is just like an English person's country house." Which makes me wonder whose house he could possibly have stayed in.

He gives me a vigorous hand-shake sandwich then eases himself into a sofa at one end of the room. "Ah," he sighs sinking into the upholstery, "I feel just like a Persian Shah!" Discreet dark suit, pale shirt, reticent tie, he's been out of power for five years now but he still wouldn't look out of place in a Kremlin line-up. He's fatter than he appears on television, with a definite double chin that circumnavigates his whole face and forces his features inwards to cluster around his nose. His hands are enormous and fleshy, his hair now white, the trademark red blotch like a dark red egg yolk someone has smashed on his skull and left in mid-drizzle.

Does it bother him? "For many years it wasn't visible because I had hair, I've never been upset by it," he smiles. I grin back. Gorbachev is here. I can hardly believe it. A man who changed the world, now touting his Memoirs in a hotel basement.

Thirty seconds pass during which his entourage stand around as he vigorously re-arranges the cushions. Finally, he beckons to Faleshchenko who quickly cries out with alarm. "He'd prefer a chair." Mr Gorbachev says he would prefer a chair. "A chair, a chair!" shouts an aide in a brown suit. "A chair, quickly, a chair," calls the girl from the publishers, throwing down her nubuck briefcase and struggling to heave a yellow Louis XVth number over an obstructive coffee table. Gorbachev springs up and spreads himself across the coffee table which he tries to manoeuvre out of her way. The girl looks horrified, Faleshchenko pushes him back and wrestles the chair from her. It seems to take an age but eventually Gorbachev sits down and accepts a cup of coffee. "Sugar for Mr Gorbachev?" cries Faleshchenko urgently, also sitting. The president swivels obediently and stares into the camera.

So what have you been up to since you arrived. I ask, as the photographer tries to remove the coffee cup and Gorbachev grabs it back. "Only peaceful activities," he grins. "Last night I was in Oxford. Whenever I come to this country I feel I must go to Oxford, it's such a wonderful town." And what about when he's at home, what does an ex-president



'Utopia is for fairy tales'... Mikhail Gorbachev

PHOTOGRAPH: EAMONN MCCABE

of the Soviet Union do all day? He thinks. "I think," he says. It is a peculiarly Russian answer and not one I would expect from a British leader. What does he think about? "I think about what's happened in the past and I think about the future. I write and I also travel a great deal across Russia." Yes, but which does he enjoy doing the most? "It may sound strange but I like all of it. I like walking near my country house, I manage around six kilometres an hour in my jogging suit! I also like to spend time with my granddaughters and with just me and Mrs Gorbachev. We have a lot to discuss." He stops for a burst of coffee. "You know, I like life!" I have no reason to disbelieve him. Smiles spill frequently from his lips, but something happens to ex-leaders. It happened to Thatcher and Reagan. The loss of office sucks the essence out of them. Without it they are gone, their very centre disappears. The same has happened to Gorbachev. There is no one less powerful than a president deposed and you can see the hurt. It throbs through him.

**There is no one less powerful than a president deposed and you can see the hurt. It throbs through him**

ing and only once does he get visibly annoyed, when I ask him the size of his pension. "Ahhh," he growls in one ear as Faleshchenko starts translating the growl simultaneously in the other. "Ahhh, we've had a very difficult situation, Mr Gaidar's reforms destroyed my savings. My pension initially was set at 1,500 roubles a month! At this, the man in the brown suit creeps up and appears to correct him. Gorbachev nods. "Er... actually it was set at 4,000 roubles a month, but despite inflation, we forgot about it until 1994, when it was worth... Well, guess how much it was worth in dollars?" I shake my head. "Two dollars! Two dollars! That was my pension! Mr Gorbachev, the former head of state on two dollars? So I began to travel and give several lectures, but the most important thing for my livelihood is book-fees." He leans across the table and slaps my copy of his copiously recorded 700-page Memoirs. "It's not a secret. I made £1 million from my publisher. So now I can say I and my family are well provided for!" I confess I'm astonished at the paucity of his pension and wonder how he coped with so public a loss of status? "For me, power was not an obsession, it wasn't a ruling passion that captured all of my

self. I really feel that a fully fledged life began for me after being in power." What does he mean, fully fledged? "I mean freedom. I have freedom to think to move around, to have contact with all kinds of people. Real freedom, something I have always wanted. The system did not make me a robot!" But doesn't he feel bitter that he's just been tossed aside? "Look at the French Revolution, look at Danton and Robespierre," he cries. "One day the people bear Robespierre aloft then the next day they vote to execute him!" Prime Minister Andreotti once asked Raisa this very question, he said: "Why didn't your husband see there were traitors around him?" And she said, "Mr Prime Minister, you are a religious man, you know the Bible, tell me, how did it happen that Jesus never saw Judas?" I'm still mulling over this comparison with Christ when he nudges me and says solemnly, "Hey, Andreotti thought that was a very good reply!" The Russians have given Gorbachev their own reply - a derisory 0.5 per cent voted for him in last summer's elections. But how does he think history will remember him? "Gorbachev was a good man," he says with a dark intensity. "He wanted his people to be free, he

wanted to open his country, he wanted to avoid war." Is he still a communist? There is a long pause. "I have done a lot of thinking about this and I have come to the conclusion that a Utopian model of social development was imposed on Russia and Utopia is for fairy tales." How would he describe his own political convictions now? "I think I'm a social democrat," and I suddenly notice a gold tooth winking at me from his lower jaw. "Freedom and democracy are the key." On the morning we meet, the news has broken of Bob Dole's former-mistress and I wonder what Gorbachev makes of the American campaign. "You can't astonish me with this kind of thing," he snorts. "My country is knee deep in sleaze!" What does he think of Bill Clinton? "He's changed, he's learned quickly, if he wins, his second term will be very different. You won't squeeze out any more from me on this subject." He is similarly uncommunicative on which foreign leaders he admired most, so I throw in religion. Does he pray? "Niet." Does he believe in anything? "The cosmos." The cosmos? "There is something very important out there that we still don't know about." What sort of thing? "Just something."

What about marriage then, how have he and Raisa managed to tot up 43 years together? "Love, Joanna, is like a good song and it's not easy to compose a song. I think marriages from student years are always very good - they're based on personal affection." There is a brief silence. "Fate has been good to me," he remarks, embarking on a paragraph I suspect he has trotted out before. "Yes, despite all the ordeals and difficult experiences I was a child whom my mother and father loved, my grandparents also loved me, I was their favourite and I never forgot where I came from. I'm proud of that." I jot it down and he nods, pleased. "This is a good note to end on, no?" As I get up to leave, I turn round and to my astonishment see several huge men who have managed to creep into the room without my noticing. It feels rather sinister and I'm relieved to spot Raisa hovering briefly on the hotel steps, a tiny woman of almost Nancy Reaganesque proportions. Dressed in a beige cotton suit topped off with a jaunty necktie, she waves hurriedly before sliding into the Daimler. And then they are off, speeding down Park Lane in a convoy of Land Rovers to make "a personal appearance" at the Knightsbridge citadel of Harrods.

## JEREMY HARDY



**PJ, PC and the eternal archaic Mail chauvinists**

**T**HE TERRIBLE thing about the Daily Mail, and the thing that makes it far more dangerous than the Sun, is that its readers think it's a proper newspaper. People who buy the Sun know it's rubbish. People who buy the Mail think its tabloid shape is an accident. Almost every opinion piece in the paper is entitled "What on earth is going on?" And you can guarantee that if an obscure reactionary think-tank or Tory backer was to announce that wordy men were to assume responsibility for the loss of the Empire, one of the Mail's zealots would proclaim the next morning: "Thank God somebody has had the courage to speak out at last." So it is not surprising that the Mail is in the vanguard of the movement to draw our country backwards. It is the perfect expression of the vague and paranoid feeling that Everything Has Gone Too Far. And the greatest weapon in its armoury is the myth of political correctness.

Paul Johnson, whose column should have the words "Paul Johnson is unwell" printed permanently beneath it, this week fulminated against the perfectly amiable *Historic Statement of Values in Education and the Community*. He complained that every interest group was represented among the 150-strong forum. For it is now an established notion that society is comprised of political lobbies: the gay vote, the black vote, the feminist vote and so on. And despite the discrimination that exists at every level of society, we are invited to believe that public policy, the media and the arts are entirely dominated by these "powerful" lobbies. When the Establishment is feeling especially hunted, its members will even accuse single-issue campaigns of being "well-orchestrated and well-organised". The rallying cry of the Left has for hundreds of years been: "I thought you were bringing the leaflets"; but now we are accused of organisational fair-

If those who claim they are rolling back the frontiers of political correctness have interpreted history accurately, at an unspecified point in the 1980s, the Left took over the world. Reagan and Thatcher were firmly in power, the arms trade was booming, mass unemployment became the main tool of government policy, and yet, insidiously, black lesbian Trotskyists were filling every position of authority. So now we have Andrew Neil, claiming to be anti-establishment. A man who edited the Sunday Times when it defamed as a prostitute a woman who witnessed the Gibraltar shootings, a man who threw all the energies of that paper into vindicating the SAS, the government and British intelligence, wants us to believe he's a thorn in the side of the powers-that-be. Bigots now use the euphemism "politically incorrect" - as in: "I suppose I'm not allowed to call them coons any more because it's politically incorrect." Commentators who say or write things which

are snobbish, misogynist, racist or anti-gay, are praised for being outrageous, refreshing, mischievous, even honest. And of course, irony is the great escape clause for those who would

limited effect that political correctness has had upon our language. It is not surprising that our society stereotypes black people as being athletic. Without our black sportspeople, we would have to turn up at the Olympics with a note from our mum. But Gladiators shares with boxing not only the ethos that battering the hell out of each other is a good thing but also the practice of nicknaming black people in such a way as to remind the spectator that they are black. Given that few white people are now amazed to see a black person on television, it can hardly be argued that such nicknames are an innocent acknowledgement of ethnic diversity. Nigel Benn is dubbed the Dark Destroyer to imply that, being of dark skin, he's just that bit more scary. And I notice that black Gladiators are called things like Nightsshade, Saracen and Shadow. If these titles merely represent a recognition of their colour, then why are their white colleagues not called Tapp-Ex, Milk-Bottle or Pasty-Face?

**Without our black sportspeople, we would be forced to turn up at the Olympics with a note from our mum**

THE TELEVISION programme, Gladiators, is always worth a look. Now that pressure from the powerful Christian lobby has removed the persecution of religious minorities from the proceedings, and the animal rights people have banned the use of real lions, gladiatorial combat has become a genuine contact sport, far less dangerous than being the wife or girlfriend of a top sportsman. However, I am not sure that all animal exploitation has been stopped, as most Gladiators look like armadillos in vests. Moreover, I question the use of real members of the public, many of whom appear to be genuinely distraught after their ordeals. "It was a tough game", are the only words they can muster, when written all over their tearful faces are the words, "That big bastard really hurt me with that spangly thing". The programme also demonstrates the





Still cold comfort for tourists in the world's coolest city

SUNDAY: There's a gruesome kind of pleasure in watching the tourists pour off the Eurostar at Waterloo to spend time in "the world's coolest city" (c) Newsweek... High winds blow litter in their faces as they stride towards super-cool British attractions...

Goldsmith lately. He bears bad news; Goldsmith's close associate, the sinister economist Alan Walters, has not even registered to vote... "I detest being near to poor people," he said...

of the blue after 20-odd years. What's astonishing is the wonderful mutual passion between mother and son. It's far more powerful than anything I've ever seen...

They had caning at my school and it never did me any harm. This was because I was never caned

all the lost kisses and hugs and strokes and intimacy have to be recouped at once. As Clare said: "It's like starting a wonderful new affair, knowing it will never go wrong."

WEDNESDAY: They had caning at my first secondary school, in Hull, and it never did me any harm. This was because I was never caned, being a goody-goody from a secure home...

THURSDAY: Splendid news for the world's coolest city: the Millennium Wheel is now to be built. Assuming it's not a bodged job, and falls into the Thames during a gale...

that Jeremy Corbyn MP and Lord St John are opposed. I don't think we need to concern ourselves with what Mr Corbyn thinks about anything, but I do retain a lot of affection for Norman "St John" Stevas...

FRIDAY: Feedback on Radio 4 was largely devoted to the visiting American couple on the Archers. Vanessa Whitburn defended these absurd caricatures, though as an Americanophile, I thought them as offensive as if a black character were to say: "Yessuh, boss, ah sho' is glad to see yew!"



SMALL WEED

THE PROLIFERATION of parties threatening to fight the next election is now getting out of hand. The Scargillites aim to outflank New Labour on the left (not too difficult, some might say) while the Referendum Party under Sir Oliver Goldsmith, grocer extraordinaire and author of He Stoops To Conquer, competes for the votes of hardline Eurosceptics with the UK Independence lot...

Staking their claims

What are the moral duties of business? To care for the world, or simply to make profit? In a vigorous exchange of letters, Anita Roddick of the Body Shop and Sir Stanley Kalms of Dixons spectacularly fail to agree



accounts that you have been trying to amuse your board for 20 years. Having read your jibes at me, I can understand your lack of success. Anita, in your next response, let's have some constructive comments and no more edicts telling us all to give up motor cars. Yours ever, Stanley

Dear Sir Stanley,

OH DEAR - I'm not going to play that little boys' game of "mine's bigger than yours", but the Body Shop is Britain's most successful international retailer in 46 countries - same brand, shared values...

But as abuse came so readily to a man of such clarity, let's have some (rarid, that is). Business innovation is no longer just about product. It's about the very role of business itself. You may not like it but the importance of stakeholders and the vigilante consumer grows every day.

Customers are looking behind the label for answers to questions you don't even recognise. One day your customers will pass by - to competitors who care about people and issues impacted by their business. This isn't fringe. Prince Charles, the Church and even the TUC challenge business leaders like you and me. As John Monks said recently: "There is no point in teaching moral purposes at schools when there is injustice and lack of moral purpose in the workplace."

He's right, and you know it. You have the last word here but definitely not on new business vision. How will you use your last words? More macho, retro-posturing, or will you focus on the real world - the one shared by Uniqat, Co-op Bank, Nat West and BT, who relish the stakeholder challenge and welcome the debate it creates about their broader social role? Yes or no, Stanley? Yours, Anita Roddick

Dear Anita,

YOU ask for clarity and I'm happy to oblige. Your failure to view stakeholding with any discrimination is indicative of the lack of coherence you bring to the debate. You are a master of the broad and sweeping generalisation. We are asked to believe that everyone, be they Jews, aborigines, Indians, churchmen, trade unionists, even the Prince of Wales, is in agreement with your views - an intellectual promiscuity one can only describe as breathtaking.

You can only claim blanket endorsement of your position because you never spell it out. The problem with stakeholding is that it means everything and nothing. It is a buzzword with no definition. One interpretation of stakeholding involves a massive increase in legislative control: heavy-handed bureaucrats stifling the entrepreneur. Is this what you want? Key exponents of stakeholding would force all company chief executives to retire after a maximum eight years; you have been in your job since 1976.

At Dixons we are not governed by abstract theories but simple common sense. I'm personally concerned about my employees; they share in our success. In the final analysis, the consumer is king and we have millions of satisfied customers. After almost 50 years in business, I am now told I've got it all wrong. I am labelled a cynical totem of the business establishment. You ignore the empirical evidence and, like some fevered tele-evangelist, tell me I must convert to stakeholding. I must decline your invitation. Although I too have vision, I am an idealist without illusions. Yours ever, Stanley

Dear Sir Stanley,

WE'RE both entrepreneurs who speak our minds. One thing that entrepreneurs surely have in common is a vision of the future yet the views you recently published on stakeholding, which you called "hand-holding", demonstrate a distinct lack of vision. When you say consultants and financial commentators are over-rated and British business is weak on design, I agree with you. So how come we disagree so fundamentally about the future?

I think the principal difference between us is that I've seen the future and it frightens the life out of me, whereas you have seen the past and it still frightens the life out of you. What do I mean? You're locked into the battle between the entrepreneurial market economy and bureaucratic collectivism. That was won in the seventies and early eighties by big business. The upcoming skirmishes will concern how benign

and responsible the victors are prepared to be.

When I look at the behaviour of multinationals, that's what scares me. If you are an uncritical supporter of unfettered free trade, then I have a problem with that.

We clearly differ on the social role of business and, as business leaders, we have a powerful voice. So I have some questions for you. What lessons would you pass on to young managers? You recently said, "Don't get stuck in the office." Absolutely! But what does that mean to you? To me, journeying provides insights. I get a clear dose of reality from getting out of my comfort zone and into the ways and means of those who are marginalised in the world.

You have said that what makes you happy is seeing the company's prosperity trickle down to employees. I have a broader vision: our employees want to participate in social change to give their work more meaning. That's what makes me happy - when I see employees sharing cream would be an inadequate alternative. Does the greater good versus the lesser evil argument have any appeal to you?

It is reassuring that "journeying" gets you closer to reality. The jungle ought to have taught you something - the market economy at its purest, no offsetting state or bureaucratic nanny-ing... a natural balance. Have you any plans for changing it? At Dixons we do it differently. Our writ runs to paying our staff on a Friday afternoon. "Life and work seamless" - that is truly nonsense. Our role is to create the means, not impose the ends.

Anita, our differences may not be so sharp but I can't tell from your scattered thoughts. I believe in a focused, rational approach in which man has it within himself to improve. But it needs a reasoned acceptance of the real world. Might I suggest to you that Margaret Thatcher would be a better role model than Don Quixote. Yours ever, Stanley Kalms Chairman, Dixons

based view of business really so narrow? Anita Roddick, OBE Founder and Chief Executive. The Body Shop

Dear Anita,

WOW! You have me on the back foot immediately. You claim foresight and allow me only hindsight. Perhaps you're right; I can't even forecast next week's turnover. On the other hand my tribe goes back several thousand years and we have accumulated quite a lot of carefully documented wisdom. So I start from a sound ethical base - age-old values and proven rules of social obligation. No need to make them up on the hoof - instant ethics can be tiresome.

Your paranoia about the multinationals is intriguing. After all, the Body Shop is one - as are Dixons in a small way. What is your beef? I guess it might be something to do with using natural resources. If it is, let me declare an interest. Frankly, I need my daily fix of 10 litres of petrol - even your alluring offer of coconut shaving cream would be an inadequate alternative. Does the greater good versus the lesser evil argument have any appeal to you?

It is reassuring that "journeying" gets you closer to reality. The jungle ought to have taught you something - the market economy at its purest, no offsetting state or bureaucratic nanny-ing... a natural balance. Have you any plans for changing it? At Dixons we do it differently. Our writ runs to paying our staff on a Friday afternoon. "Life and work seamless" - that is truly nonsense. Our role is to create the means, not impose the ends. Anita, our differences may not

be so sharp but I can't tell from your scattered thoughts. I believe in a focused, rational approach in which man has it within himself to improve. But it needs a reasoned acceptance of the real world. Might I suggest to you that Margaret Thatcher would be a better role model than Don Quixote. Yours ever, Stanley Kalms Chairman, Dixons

Dear Sir Stanley,

NOW I know where you're coming from. I'm the irrational female imposing my world view on employees. Ignorant of how markets work. But you seem to know the price of everything and the value of nothing. Have you the remotest idea of the human costs of your petrol addiction? Next weekend is the first anniversary of the "judicial murder" of Ken Saro-Wiwa by the Nigerian dictatorship for protesting the environmental destruction of their lands by Shell. Understand, every time you fill the company car at a Shell station the real price is not paid by your chauffeur.

One thing impressed me in your letter - your reflection on ancient wisdom. The sad thing is you don't seem to have absorbed much. I too have the deepest respect for the ancient tribes of Israel, aboriginal peoples and native Americans. They taught me the importance of living in harmony with nature and care for future generations. A recent Environmental Investigation Agency report catalogued the rape of native forests by multinational multinationals like Mitsubishi, Hyundai and Georgia Pacific. Virtually all logging for export in India, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand and the Philippines is illegal. That's the jungle law of the

free market - monopolistic and illegal. Happily, the Body Shop stakeholders share my concerns. We know because we surveyed them last year. Why don't you ask your staff what they think (always assuming they're employed by you for longer than a week)? Yours, Anita Roddick

Dear Anita,

YOUR opening attempt at self-analysis is remarkably precise. To get closer to your wavelength, I have read a copy of your 1996 accounts - somewhat arch and pretentious, presumably to disguise a rather poor performance. You boast of travelling around the world 17 times in one year (all expenses paid, in a fuel-hungry aeroplane?) perhaps non-stop, considering the incoherence of your letter.

Your attempt to monopolise the "earling" market fails. I also care but in an ordered and studied manner, not merely based on public relations geared to selling my products. The random lumping together of cultural heritage, be it Jewish, aboriginal, or native American, in support of your arrogant posture shows an offensive and appalling ignorance of the distinctive nature of separate beliefs. Your clichéd response is disappointing, albeit predictable. Let me pose you a quiet question - can't you accept that your frenetic, self-righteous approach may not always be the best way to draw attention to issues that actually concern us all? By the way, you tell us in your

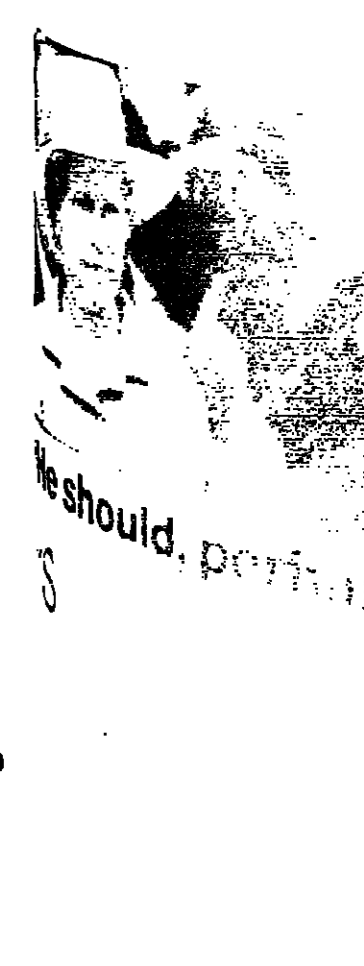
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Doonesbury BY GARRY TRUDEAU. OKAY, BOYS AND GIRLS, WE'RE GOING TO TAKE A QUICK NEWS BREAK... I GATHER FROM YOUR NON-RESPONSIVENESS THAT OUR FRIEND CHASE HASN'T BEEN RINGING TOO MANY BELLS WITH HIS ANTI-CLERICAL HARANGUE. NOT TOO SURPRISING OF COURSE, GIVEN THE TRASH HE HAS TO WORK WITH. WELL, I DIDN'T ME GET UP ON THE WRONG SIDE OF THE BED TODAY! HEY, AT LEAST I MADE IT AGAIN! WHAT A MINUTE!

Every one of the side which I recommend is qualified to appear for England (except perhaps in some cases in terms of ability). Here is my line-up: James (Liverpool), Charles (Villa), Martin (Oxford), Daniel (Walsall); Thomas (Liverpool), Matthew (Burnley), Gilbert (West Bromwich Albion), Otto (Charlton), Joachim (Villa), Ferdinand (Newcastle) and Francis (Birmingham City). Sub: Pope (Crewe), Bishop (West Ham), Dean (Bournemouth), Archdeacon (Carlisle), Prior (Leicester C), Priest (Chester) and Angel (Oxford). They would play in the formation favoured by Hoddle, with three defenders and two wing-backs. I concede at once that this side may have problems in central defence, since Alvin Martin, though playing as well as ever, must by now be 73. Unfortunately the talented Newcastle defender Albert appears to be foreign as well. Some may find the unknown Pope of Crewe a surprising selection; but sources at Gresty Road tell me that he's infallible.

Rage inside the Ivory tower

White





# Rage inside the ivory tower

It is open warfare at a top private school after poor league table results. **Jim White reports**

**T**HE RUGBY pitches laid out along College Lawn look lush and splendid, smooth as a billiard table. Beyond them, the cricket square, roped off for the winter, lies in the shadow of a vast Victorian pavilion, a sort of junior St Paneras station. Brooding over everything at the top of the fields, is a muscular Gothic hall, the motto "Labor vincit omnia" cut into the stonework over its huge oak doors: Work Conquers Everything.

These are architectural metaphors for what Cheltenham College offers to the world: stability, tradition and prestige. These were the qualities that attracted Lindsay Anderson to use the place as the backdrop to his 1969 film *If...*

In the chaotic climax of that film, its star, Malcolm McDowell, raided the Combined Cadet Force stores and machine-gunned the entire governing body at speech day. Now, nearly 30 years on, the word echoing around the drafty quads and high-ceilinged halls of Cheltenham College is once more Revolution.

From the outside the buildings suggest this is all one could wish for in a school. Yet, over the past three weeks parents have discovered that, for all the privileges it bestows, one thing which paying £4,320 a term out of taxed income does not guarantee is a say in how the school is run. And they are furious. In a town which has become a synonym for a certain brand of English conservatism, radical action is being demanded.

The problem began on October 11, a Friday, immediately after a grand service to mark the centenary of the school chapel. With a sense of timing and tact, the parents claim, is characteristic, Nigel Farrow, president of the governing council, sought out the headmaster, Peter Wilkes, and fired him.

Daily Telegraph national school league tables. After the last round of A-level results, College, as everyone calls it, had dropped from 147th place to 205th, relegating it to the third division. In an increasingly competitive market-place, when prospective parents choose schools by addressing the league tables, such a decline, Farrow suggested, could not be tolerated.

There was another thing. While Wilkes might be a dedicated schoolmaster — Farrow went further, calling him "brilliant" — that was not only what was needed. Nowadays the college required a businessman, a chief executive, to head its "dynamic business plan for the 21st century". At the following school assembly, Wilkes informed the pupils he was to leave at the end of the academic year. It was not his choice, was the euphemism he used.

Within minutes, pupils were on the phone to parents. Within seconds, parents were on the phone to each other. "We couldn't understand what was going on," says Celia Hicks Beach, whose son Freddie, 15, is in the GCSE year. "We thought there could be no smoke without fire. Which was Wilkes fiddling the books or the boys?"

The next day a photo-copied letter was sent by Farrow to all parents, its brusque three paragraphs giving nothing away of the decision to drop the pilot. Gradually parents began talking, gossiping, using whatever contacts with the governing body they had to scratch out information. And what they discovered was that there was absolutely no suggestion of impropriety on the part of the sacked head teacher. Like a football club manager, he had gone simply because of league results.

What none of the parents could understand was the summariness of the dismissal. As far as they were concerned Wilkes was a fine headmaster, open, helpful, courteous, respected by all the pupils, responsible for engendering an atmosphere in the school widely described as remarkable. "Whenever you picked up the phone to call someone in the Common Room to talk through a problem, you found them immensely helpful," says Keith Douglas, whose daughter is in the lower sixth. "You know why this was — all institutions take their lead from the head."

In 1994 the last Headmasters Conference inspection report on Cheltenham was full of praise, littered with phrases like: "the unanimity of positive impressions gathered is striking"; "real excellence in many areas is not hard to find"; and "all abilities are catered for so that each pupil achieves his or her own best standard."

Indeed, this year the college earned the highest GCSE results in its history.



"If things have slipped," says Mark Hicks Beach, Freddie's father, "then surely you get together, talk to the headmaster, talk to the heads of department, sort it out. You don't sack a man who has the respect of every parent and member of the common room."

clear we parents were a damned nuisance. Parents were particularly incensed when Air Commodore Atherton, secretary to the governing council, was quoted on the local television news mocking parents for "behaving as though they were our customers."

Governors were invited to the meeting and, though six were in college at the time, none attended. Over 500 parents, however, did. The mood was vociferous, angry even, and a vote was carried overwhelmingly for a strongly worded motion demanding the reinstatement of Wilkes and the resignation of the governing council, the rift between the two had become so wide, the one could not happen without the other.

At the climax of *If...* Malcolm McDowell machine-gunned the entire governing body. The word around Cheltenham College once more is Revolution



Turning the tables: Malcolm McDowell and Christine Noonan in *If...* Below, the leafy quad of Cheltenham College today

meeting. The other two dozen closed ranks around the president, unwilling to talk to the press. Significantly, only one member of council has a pupil at the school. The rest are largely businessmen (Sir Michael Perry, the former chairman of Unilever, is one), former servicemen (Gen Sir John Walters, former deputy Supreme Commander of Allied Forces Europe is another) or educational professionals (Hugh Wright, chief master of King Edward's School, Birmingham, is a third). There is, therefore, no input from the consumers. Nor, unlike state schools, is there any legal requirement for there to be so.

In the absence of any candid statement from the governors (when contacted they preferred to hide behind talk of confidentiality) it is possible only to surmise their position. But it seems to be this: Peter Wilkes was prepared to take pupils of lesser ability and help them develop; the governing body was anxious for a sharper selection procedure to push the school up the league tables.

In short, with the extra competitive light shed by tables (and the huge glare thrown by the academic success of Cheltenham Ladies' College over the road) the governors took the view that there is no commercial place for a school which is happy to cater for Tim Niece-Dim.

"Basically they wanted to cull the children who were only going to get C and D at A level," said one parent. "It seems to me they regard the whole purpose of A levels as being a method to better the reputation of the school rather than honing the potential of the children of fee-paying parents. The council keep wittering on about the 21st century."

"Parents are not paying £12,000 a year for that. We are paying for this year and next. Surely as a customer we have the right to respond to important decisions and to have our views respected."

Indeed if there is a business strategy at work in Cheltenham, it appears to be a thoroughly British one in the pursuit of staying viable in a new market, you lose

sight of your existing one. At the moment the distance between the two parties seems insurmountable. Last Tuesday, the school council held a meeting and decided that none of its members would resign and, despite parental opposition, the decision to sack Wilkes stood.

"The attempt to force us to resign is constitutionally and practically deft, says one member of council who declined to speak on the record. "Besides what can they do?"

This is the rub: ultimately, parents only have one sanction as consumers, removing their children. But most would be loath to disrupt their education by transferring them mid-stream.

"Well, no, we do have some power," says Keith Douglas. "The governors should remember that the greatest ambassadors for colleges are the parents. When someone makes a decision about choosing a school, they might well look at the league tables, but they will also talk to parents and ask them what the place is like."

With no movement on either side, when the college resumes after half-term next Monday it will do so in an atmosphere heavy with resentment. And at the centre of an unholy row which is all over the local press at a time when parents are registering their children for public schools.

"It worries us greatly that this issue may be damaging College," says Keith Douglas. "But at the same time we are not going to give in. We believe they have treated us with contempt. Council has created this situation and they must resolve it."

## Mum's no longer the word, sadly



Jon Snow, left, should watch out, Henry Porter says. He's nobody's favourite son after criticising his mother when she was down

Mother-son relations are never easy, as the Queen and Lady Thatcher well know



## 'He should, perhaps, attack the age and not the individual'

**"S**ELF-INDULGENCE has gained the upper hand over decency," Tom Snow said in a letter to the Guardian last week about his brother Jon Snow's contribution to a collection called Mothers And Sons.

Although we have no knowledge of relations between the Snow brothers, it is difficult to disagree with this judgment when you learn that their mother lies senseless in a hospital with Alzheimer's disease, and that a huge part of Snow's chapter is spent explaining his own failings by a careful description of hers.

Prince Charles, who complained about the absence of physical affection in his childhood and his early dispatch to boarding school. These things, he implied, explained his difficulty in forming close relationships as an adult. Physical affection between parents and children is crucially important, and the idea of sending small boys to boarding school outmoded and foolish, but the spectacle of these successful and privileged middle-aged men pleading for our sympathy is really too much to bear.

They both demonstrate precisely the opposite of what the therapists insist is achieved by this type of confession. Rather than forgetting the distress and imagined slights of childhood, they dwell on them to the point where everything — including their own coldness or simple failure to think of others — is their parents' fault. Thus they are arrested in a bleak state of pubescent complaint — neither adult nor child.

Obviously Snow had a much more miserable childhood than I experienced and so I find it difficult to condemn him outright. But there is another dislikable aspect to this — the idea that to be open or honest about personal history signifies political integrity.

There is the sense of self-pity in Snow's description of his mother and a cloying demand for our attention, which I suspect has as much to do with his celebrity as anything that happened to him at

Winchester Cathedral Choir School or at home. Plainly he feels that he never met his father's muscular expectations and was often the butt of his brothers' jokes. As we know, these things last into adulthood and propel people to success or failure. In Snow's case, it seems to be the former.

The first question is why Snow, a highly-respected and successful broadcaster, has not waited until his mother's death before publishing

ing. His two brothers have equal shares in Mrs Snow and yet he has made a pre-emptive strike from the position of his celebrity to fix his mother's reputation in the eyes of the world. However well-written and touching his essay may seem, it is still at base an act of compelling egotism.

But perhaps we should not be surprised because the whole drive of modern psychotherapy and counselling has been to encourage people to shift responsibility for their own lives to their parents. We are taught that the only true way to grow up is to renounce their influence and to see ourselves in a state of permanent recovery from the parental yoke.

This instinct was seen in Jonathan Dibley's biography of

still doesn't quell a capacity to subjugate. I would guess that in some curious way, he has used Mothers And Sons to exact a final revenge on his own mother — a subjugation, if you like, in which he knows she cannot spring back from the advanced stages of Alzheimer's to tick him off.

There can be no greater egotism, but of course Snow will blame that on his mother too. What he forgets is that he has a choice in this, for there is a moment in every life when children things are put away and individuals begin to take responsibility for themselves, knowing full well that they have arrived at a point where they are what they are despite or because of their parents. It is called adulthood.

arts



Making Monkees of themselves

What is it with monks and showbiz? They're number one in Ireland while in Britain the Benedictines are hoping for a Christmas hit. But the story of the first frock 'n' roll superstars suggests they'd do better to take a vow of silence. John de St Jorre reports

sted from 87,000 in 1993 to 134,000 in 1994. Father Jose Luis Angulo, Silos's present choirmaster, says his patience is exhausted. Standing in Silos's magnificent double-tiered cloister, he points at the sculpted capitals. "They touch them and breathe all over them," he says in a tone suggesting sacred liturgy.

Reports began to filter back that Canto was being used in discos, even as background music for porn movies. The monks were sent a sample of EMI's marketing in the States. A flyer packaged with the CD urged: "Get your CHANT! Monk-Habit Brown Hooded Pull-over, Long-Sleeve 100% Cotton T-Shirt for only \$19.95". On the front was the word "CHANT", with "Angel" EMI's classical-music trademark, beneath. The marketing men had even got their colours mixed up, confusing Franciscan brown with Benedictine black.

That should perhaps give food for thought to the Benedictine brothers of Downside Abbey near Bath, who have just released an album of Gregorian chants called The Abbey and to the monks of Glenstal Abbey in Ireland, whose Faith Of Our Fathers is now sitting at the top of the Irish charts. The Silos monks began to resent what they saw as crass commercialism. A media trip to the monastery, organised by EMI in Madrid, was spoilt when the bus got lost and arrived too late for the sung mass, which was to have been the centrepiece of the outing. (The monks politely refused a request to re-run the ceremony.) For their part, many journalists lost interest in the monks when they discovered Princess Diana's brother was in their midst, working for an American TV crew.

Eager to follow up its success, EMI put out another Silos recording, Canto Noel, aiming for a second yuletide bonanza. The monks, who say they were not consulted, were dismayed to find more than half the pieces on the new CD were not Christmas chants at all, but belonged to the Easter liturgy. The misuse of sacred music purely to produce another holiday hit upset them more than anything else.

There has been endless speculation about Silos's earnings from its venture into pop. The newspaper El País reported that the monks received 100 million pesetas (about \$500,000) from EMI. Rafael Gil, until recently head of EMI in Spain, says that was "a wild guess" and too low, but would not be drawn on the true amount.

Father Jose Luis says Silos virtually gave away its rights when the chant was first recorded. The rights to the material on the first disk of Canto Gregoriano, he said, were granted to Propaganda Popular Catolico, the non-profit-making Catholic organisation that helped make the recordings in the early seventies. The monks had a contract for the material on the second disc that yielded a small share (probably two to three per cent) of the wholesale price. Silos recordings put out later by EMI were based on the old contracts.

After the Canto Noel disappointment, Silos decided to try another recording company and signed a contract with the French firm Jade. Two new CDs, El Alma Del Canto and Ave Maria, have been released, using material that dates back as far as 1968, and several more are planned before the end of the year.

Despite Silos's deal with Jade, Rafael Gil insists EMI has a good relationship with Silos. The company has just released the second volume of The Best Works Of Gregorian Chant, and has an option on future recordings from the monastery, according to Gil. Father Jose Luis and his abbot, Father Clemente Serra, confirm that relations with EMI are equitable.

So where do the disaffected choirmasters fit in? Ismael Fernandes de la Cuesta and Francisco Lara, who have both left the monastery, claim they should have been paid for their artistic input into the chant recordings. While they accept that Gregorian chant itself is in the public domain, they believe their arrangements and direction played a vital role in the recordings' success.

The lawsuit could set an important precedent, says Clifton J Williams, director of the Sintonia music company's publishing division, who has been preparing the choirmasters' case. "We are dealing here with the whole area of traditional music, where arrangements and musicologists have never been paid for their work. It's all about intellectual property."

Gil, who headed EMI during Silos's success, will have none of that. The choirmasters never claimed copyright 30 years ago when they made the recordings.

Hey brother, give it some ¡cojones!

DEEP inside Santo Domingo de Silos is the music room, with its sophisticated sound system and cork-lined walls. It is here that the monks listen to their own music and the work of their "competitors". A cupboard houses two rows of Silos's CDs and cassettes, and gold discs hang everywhere.

Looking at all these trophies, the question begs to be asked: Why Silos? There were already many recordings of Gregorian chant on the market when its double-disc took off. Silos's abbot, Father Clemente Serra, has a simple explanation: it was "one of God's little jokes". The true reason may be the lusty Spanish character. French Benedictines tend to sing in a sweet, almost effeminate way. German chant is usually more vigorous but less mysterious; and English chant is often marred by poor acoustics. Silos has marvellous acoustics and Spanish monks sing in a full-blooded way. "They chant con cojones," comments the director of a British choral group. The phrase means "with balls".

he says. "The fact is, no arrangements are necessary. The chant is melodic: the voices sing the same song at the same pitch."

Until Canto Gregoriano, the sums involved in recording this kind of music were so small that no one thought it worthwhile challenging the record companies. But Silos's success has changed all that. With pop-star-levels of status and income involved, it is perhaps not surprising everyone wants a piece of the action. CD were.

Silos itself has escaped becoming embroiled in the lawsuit. But it has no shortage of other problems. The monastery has not made any new recordings since 1982; nor will it be able to do so without fresh blood. Only a handful of those who made the original recordings remain; the most prominent are Father Jose Luis and the abbot himself. The community's numbers are down from around 60 monks in the fifties and sixties to 38, several of whom are too old or unmusical to be in the choir. "We try to maintain the style," says Father Jose Luis, "but practise and so forth, but the raw material is not the same, the voices are old and rusty."

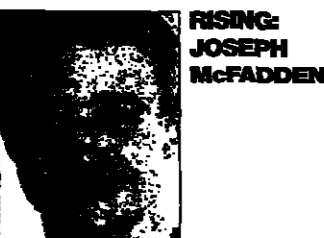
While the popularity of chant has greatly increased the number of visitors to Silos, it has yet to fill the empty cells. "For a vocation to be authentic," says Father Jose Luis, "it must be a lot more profound than fame. If someone comes for that reason, he doesn't last long. A lot of people come here to run away from something. That's no use. You have to come here in search of something."

El doom, as Father Jose Luis calls Silos's recording stardom, may eventually become a bust. But if a time comes when the monastery's choir sing only for themselves and those who stand before them in the chapel, they will at least have ensured chant's survival. They have popularised a form of music that traditionally had limited followings in Europe and the Americas and was virtually unknown elsewhere. Today, record stores around the world carry a broad range of Gregorian chant, from Benedictine monasteries, from church choirs, even from convents.

A SINGLE bell tolls across the frozen Castilian countryside. The lights go on in the monastery's chapel and two dozen black-robed monks enter in pairs, bow deeply to the altar and separate to take their places beside the chancel. This is the eighth and final time on this cold day that the monks sing together as they worship their god and celebrate their community.

The tourists are gone and the hostel guests, clustered in the front pews, are dwarfed by the towering nave. Father Jose Luis caresses the keys of the organ and the voices rise and fall. As the service ends, the monks leave their stalls, form pairs again, their hands folded under their robes, and, still chanting, walk down the central aisle. The lights dim and they leave the church by a side door that leads past the sepulchre of Santo Domingo into the medieval cloister. While the legal battle over their music continues in the courts of distant Madrid, these small, humble, holy, ordinary men go about their not-so-ordinary lives.

SHOOTING STARS

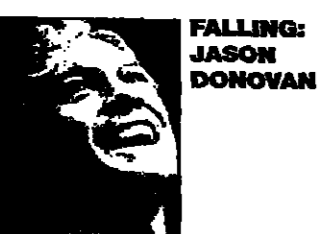


RISEING: JOSEPH MCFADDEN

Up... Plucked from school at the delicate age of 12 to be on TV amid tough life, eh? — the angelic laddie McFadden struts his stuff in Taggart, and passes six tartan-tinted years Taking The High Road.

Up... The insufficiently-trumpeted Small Faces, a gem of a film from Gillies and Billy Mackinnon, depicts the trials of two Glasgow brothers in the sixties. The elder sibling was Joseph McFadden.

Away... This Monday, BBC2 begins its dramatization of the trials of two Glasgow brothers in the sixties. The elder sibling was Joseph McFadden.



FALLING: JASON DONOVAN

Goin'... Micro-stardom in Neighbours, mega-stardom in the world of cheesy teeny pop; macro-stardom in the West End revival of Joseph And His Uncommonly Garish Overcoat. Can anything spoil the delirious ascent of this blue-eyed Aussie idol?

Goin'... How's about suing The Face magazine to win an inch of its life? Irked at the playful inference that he possibly could be — whisper it — homosexual, the blonde crooner of Too Many Broken Hearts broke a bank balance or two (and incurred the wrath of his gay fans) in a nasty tiff with the style Bible.

Gone... Leatherhead, 1996: Donovan relaunches his serious acting career. His crazed psycho in Evelyn Williams's Night Must Fall gets a West End transfer. Surely, a second bite at celebrity looms? Er, no. Reviled and lampooned by critics and audience alike — the independent called for a public inquiry — Jason's vehicle closes tonight, six weeks early.

IT COULD have been a fairy tale. A group of holy men whose lives are governed by the austere rules of St Benedict — prayer, work, silence and solitude — decide to share their music with people outside the monastery's walls. They make some recordings and the music sells slowly. Eventually they stop recording; their numbers are dwindling, their voices failing. No one seems interested in the monks or their music any more. Christianity in the defensive and monasticism is struggling to survive.

Then a miracle happens. A fairy godfather in a distant city takes some of their recordings, digitally remasters them and puts two shiny new discs in a box with an attractive cover. Suddenly, all over the world people of all ages, many of no religion, are buying the discs. Millions of copies are sold around the world, a pot of gold materialises, the church is full on Sundays and festivals, hundreds of thousands of people visit the monastery. There is talk of a religious revival and hopes of a new wave of monastic recruits.

There the fairy tale ends for the monks of Santo Domingo de Silos in central Spain. Their choir is in decline, their way of life has been threatened, and the choirmasters who directed and arranged Canto Gregoriano — Gregorian Chant — are suing their record company for millions of dollars.

At first, all seemed to go well. After releasing Canto Gregoriano in 1994, and seeing it become a huge Christmas hit with EMI, the monks agreed to put out more albums, again culled from their recording archive. Canto itself sold more than six million copies. Then began the conflict between God and Mammon. As the media and tens of thousands of tourists flocked to the monastery, the monks began to feel they were under siege. Paparazzi were found climbing trees, trying to snap the monks in their quarters. Requests for a share of the spoils poured in: for schools, for orphans, for the homeless, for the disabled, for cathedrals in need of restoration, even for people getting divorced with no place to live. Visitors to the monastery rock-

Elvis is gone, says Tom Hutchinson. Now can we please forget him?

The King is dead — let's get burying

Provocations

IN THE country of the deaf the one-note man is King — and it is a degrading experience, for those who are not hard of hearing, to live under such a monarch. So why don't we flush residual wax from our ears and proclaim a republic away from the memory of Elvis Presley? For the burger-ballooned bulk considered regal, ray holy, by millions of worshippers — still reigns after death, a bloated icon of a trash culture that stalled rhythm 'n' blues in repetitive chords and lugubrious vocals.

Not so much King Tut as King Tut. In the way that Ringo Starr put drumming back pre-Gene Krupa, so Presley mixed his musical genre. He ain't nothing but a sound dog, relying more on visual appeal as his pelvic thrust itself around like loose chisels in a sack.

Celebrations for the 20th anniversary of his death loom. The Mississippi-born Tennessee strummer will be hailed by record re-issues, festivals of his movies, television analyses: a rag-to-riches story that resembles the spangles he so often sported — gilly at first but then rusted with the sweat of excess. A forest of horrors to come is an American double CD-Rom called Virtual Graeland. Graeland is the vast mansion Presley occupied, a palatial necropolis outside which worshippers still genuflect. You thought Liberace was kitsch? Here are the garish interiors of fluffy retardation, where banality is made live and manifest. And this is the grail to which followers aspire.

Towards the end of his manipulated life, Presley looked like the living dead; now, zombie-like, he lurches among us as hundreds of Elvis imitators, the use of his name in baptisms, the absurd reports that he still lives somewhere, anywhere. At Easter we



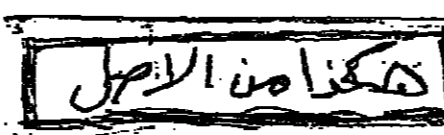
might expect him to rise again. He lives as legend, but why? Contemporary fame is a strange thing that, too often, nails its subject to a media-constructed cross. This is what happened to Presley, "a white man with the voice of a black", who was bent and twisted by manager and agents into a peculiar, passionless sex-object, a role model for those who wouldn't know how to spell the words. The Sunday Times 1,000 Makers Of Cinema describes him as "one of the most successful figures in the history of showbusiness" but doesn't attempt to explain why apart from noting that he was the survivor of twins, implying a doubly charged talent... or ego. It is hard to account for that success.

His voice was mediocre when compared with other hillbilly blues-belters, and his films — apart from Flaming Star — were dreadful to the point of melancholy.

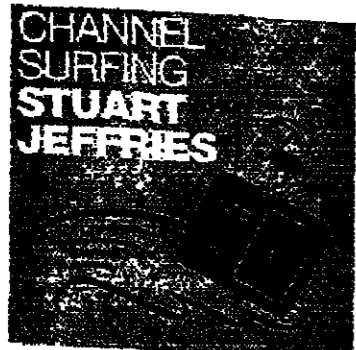
After 1969 his career bombed in bits and pieces all over the place and, like other American headliners who get going when the going gets tough, he became reclusive, gorged hamburgers and drugs, and died in his fabulous bathroom: Howard Hughes in blue suede slippers. That bathroom, a throne-room legendarily ornamented with strange devices, is not shown on the CD-Rom.

Perhaps he still accumulates adoration because, unconsciously, he made himself an enigma and the ultimate dream of deliverance from the servitude of his class and his station in life. Buddy Holly had humour, but he started out nearer the top of a crapulous heap. He, too, died young but he is nowhere near the eerie presence that Elvis Presley still is. Presley's grip is that of a dead man's hand stiffened into rigor mortis. Let us break the clasping mediocrity that still damages what we listen to. Feel sorry for him, certainly, but throw off adulation. He fed his appetites too obviously, like too many other royals. The only saving grace is that he started out with none of their privilege.

BOOKER PRIZE WINNER Last Orders for Graham Swift. Table with columns: Title, rrp, Offer Price. Includes titles like Sweet Shop Owner, Out Of This World, Shuttlecock, Learning to Swim and Other Stories, Ever After, Waterland. Includes contact information for The Guardian Interactive.







Sick telly syndrome

Why must hospital dramas be so grim? Why, in this brave new era of sponsored programming, isn't there a slot for an uplifting serial about the private health sector? "Happy Hospital is brought to you by Bupa, caring for you whatever the government's NHS policy..."

In hospital drama, by sentimentality, "I feel so stupid," says the attempted suicide once they've pumped her stomach. "So you should be," says her caring colleague. "You promised to help me with my palliative care assignment..."



The Heaton's off: Even in an intimate venue, where you'd expect to feel an anorak oneness with them, they're the least riveting act since INXS

Zipless anoraks

Their new album may have screamed in at number one but The Beautiful South are lousy live, says Caroline Sullivan

The letdown

ASSOCIATES say that The Beautiful South's Paul Heaton takes a keen interest in clothes, favouring pricey designers like Massimo Osti.

have rock stars that look and speak exactly like them. Fortunately they don't sing like them. Heaton's angelic voice and gift for songsmithery make his not just a classic English band but the champions in the Stinging Bitter Lyrics Division (they not only get drunk down the Grim & Dirty Arms, they write about the barmaid).

Charts making it 1994's top CD. Its successor, Blue Is The Colour, went into the charts at number one this week to the best reviews of their seven-year career.

Italian restaurant as far as the South are concerned, sex just isn't part of the act. Nor is stage presence, personality or any of the qualities that distinguish a good live band.

joined a band. How will she cope with Wembley Arena next spring? Fans would no doubt rejoinder — wrongly — that the BS's job isn't to put on a Vegas revue, it's to play music. That they did, and well. For a man who smoked right through the set, Heaton's voice was remarkably pure and expressive.

WAVE RIDING ANNE KARP

After you with the Diazepam, nurse. This miserable realism is undercut, as it nearly always is

Radio 4's new series Sensational Women, about Victorian women "sensational" writers, arrived brandishing its chief device — getting writers of modern potboilers to assess their predecessors — which seemed to betoken a certain lack of confidence, as if we might not otherwise find the authors worthy of interest.

Sex with Auntie

USED to think that there should be more sex on radio until I listened to Sex Lines (Radio 5 Live). This new four-part series on "the second sexual revolution" opened with an interview with the man sporting a giant papier-mâché penis.

Sally Beauman drew attention to the discipline required in writing novels for periodicals in instalments, while presenter Sarah Dunant made a strong case for Braddon as a thriller writer and social observer equal to Wilkie Collins and Dickens.

Michael Billington on a Death Of A Salesman that puts America on trial

Dream on, sucker

The classic

LESS OR truth? Dreams or reality? Which do we live by? It is the great question that resounds through modern American drama: O'Neill, Miller, Williams, Albee, Shepard all supply different answers.

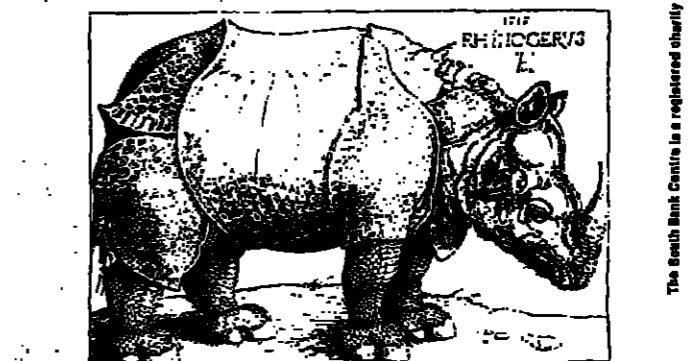


Hapless hero... Alun Armstrong as Willy, obsessed by 'the deal'

to convey Willy's evasion of reality. And that is what comes across strongly in Thacker's production and Fran Thompson's highly imaginative design. The elements of Willy's past are all starkly present, from the battered red Chevy to the suspended bed containing his Boston mistress.

the look of a man who has driven many miles for no reason in pursuit of a deal. The one element missing from his performance, discovered by Dustin Hoffman and Warren Mitchell, is the false, line-shooting perkiness of the younger man.

National Touring Exhibitions



The Age of Dürer

German Renaissance Prints from the British Museum. 1 November - 15 December. National Gallery of Scotland, The Mound, Edinburgh.



Advertisement for Mapplethorpe exhibition at Hayward Gallery, 19 September - 17 November 1996.

Scaling the heights

Andrew Clements salutes a brave, if mixed, Ring

The vindication

THE last of the Royal Opera's three Ring cycles ends tonight, when Bernard Haitink conducts Götterdämmerung. Whether or not we will ever get the chance to see Richard Jones's fascinating and infuriating production again remains an open question.

view of a world destroyed by Wotan's ruthless ambition, and those who are scandalised by its seeming irrelevance, its steadfast unwillingness to take the work as an inviolable icon to be revered rather than interpreted.

been created in susceptible minds: was Jones sending the whole thing up, more worryingly sending up their own view of Walküre and its sacred status? Was he threatening their personal artistic beliefs?

war period soon crossed over into opera, where they flourished and have become a lingua franca in a way that the straight theatre in this country at least has always resisted.

Maplethorpe



Newmarket with TV form

Table with 3 columns: Race time, Race name, and TV form details.

1.00 CEE BALATON LODGE MAIDEN FILLIES STAKES 2YO 7f 64,197

Table listing race details for 1.00 CEE BALATON LODGE MAIDEN FILLIES STAKES 2YO 7f 64,197.

1.30 NEW SPARK PLUGS SELLING STAKES 2YO 7f 64,678

Table listing race details for 1.30 NEW SPARK PLUGS SELLING STAKES 2YO 7f 64,678.

2.05 BOUNTY FINANCIAL COLLECTIONS CONDITIONS STAKES 64,600

Table listing race details for 2.05 BOUNTY FINANCIAL COLLECTIONS CONDITIONS STAKES 64,600.

Channel 4

2.40 NEW MARSHALL STAKES (Listed Race) 1m 61,100

Table listing race details for 2.40 NEW MARSHALL STAKES (Listed Race) 1m 61,100.

3.01 ZETLAND STAKES (Listed Race) 2YO 1m 51,500

Table listing race details for 3.01 ZETLAND STAKES (Listed Race) 2YO 1m 51,500.

3.45 LADDOCKE AUTUMN HANDICAP 1m 62,800

Table listing race details for 3.45 LADDOCKE AUTUMN HANDICAP 1m 62,800.

Channel 4

4.15 BURNBOURNE GREEN HANDICAP 7f 64,785

Table listing race details for 4.15 BURNBOURNE GREEN HANDICAP 7f 64,785.

Channel 4

4.45 WINDYVALE JUVENILE NOVICE HURDLE 2YO 2m 62,800

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Channel 4

4.00 WINDYVALE JUVENILE NOVICE HURDLE 2YO 2m 62,800

Table listing race details for 4.00 WINDYVALE JUVENILE NOVICE HURDLE 2YO 2m 62,800.



Winning collection... Ellens Lad, with Pat Eddery up, lands yesterday's Equity Financial Collections Nursery at Newmarket

Wetherby (N.H.)

Table listing race details for Wetherby (N.H.).

Ascot (N.H.) with TV form

Table listing race details for Ascot (N.H.) with TV form.

Racing

One Man for a winning return

WITH the Flat season wearing a tired look, principal interest today centres on One Man's reappearance at Wetherby in the Charlie Hall Chase.

Danoli impresses over fences

DANOLI, Ireland's most popular horse, made a successful debut over fences at Clonmel yesterday.

Kelso (N.H.)

Table listing race details for Kelso (N.H.).

Colony Club, 4 Nov 1996

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Blinkered for the first time — KELSO: 2.30 Kashana, NEWMARKET: 1.30 Ike's Pet, 3.45 Welton Arsenal, 4.15 Alpine Hideaway, WARWICK: 2.45 Chillington, WOLVERHAMPTON: 7.00 Janie's Boy, 9.00 Neon Deion, Spolverhanks.

Large advertisement for 'RACELINE' featuring a grid of numbers and names, with a 'Wounded' graphic at the top.

Handwritten signature or text at the bottom center of the page.



Rugby League Third Test: New Zealand 32, Great Britain 12

Wounded Lions suffer whitewash

Andy Wilson in Christchurch

THE GREAT BRITAIN'S troubled tour of New Zealand ended in humiliation with a record 3-0 series whitewash. Terry O'Connor, the British prop, spoke for the whole team when he said: "I am embarrassed. I don't want to be remembered as part of the first team which did not win a game in New Zealand."

the controversial sin-binning of Adrian Morley. They also led for a large part of the second Test in Palmerston North, although this time there were no complaints about the 18-15 defeat. However, they went into this last Test with Farrell, Bobbie Goulding and Stuart Spruce all requiring injections and Alan Hunte, Daryl Powell and Kris Radlinski defying medical advice.

long pass to the unmarked Eddie only for Gene Ngandu to intercept and run 55 yards to the post. Then another moment of Goulding invention backfired as he tried to hand-ball his own chip to his half-back partner Karle Hammond; this time Timu gathered the ball and linked with Ngamu, who sent Sean Hoppe over.



All bets are off... the Lions' hard man finds his way blocked by two determined Kiwis

PHOTOGRAPH: VICTORIA MATTHEWS

New Zealand have proved under their official break that they were the Lions back on their own line. The defence showed a first, worrying side of fitness as the right centre Ruben Wiki dummied through to give New Zealand a lead that they extended to 6-0 at half-time through two breakaway tries.

Great Britain were threatening when in the 38th minute Goulding chose to run on the sixth tackle and fired a

Larder recovers from Test mauling to land Eagles job

PHIL LARDER was yesterday appointed coach of Sheffield Eagles, hours after his Great Britain side had lost the third Test. He succeeds Gary Hetherington, the Eagles' founder, who left the club this week to become chief executive at Leeds.

take up his position at Headingley. Larder played for Oldham and Whitehaven and was the League's first director of coaching from 1982 to 1988. He coached Widnes and Kelghey and was assistant to Great Britain's Maurice Bamford, Malcolm Reilly and Ellery Hanley before succeeding him last year.

Larder said in Christchurch: "Sheffield are one of the real success stories of rugby league and I am proud and honoured to accept the post."

Eighteen amateur clubs will compete with professional sides from the first and second divisions for the right to take on Super League teams in next year's Slick Cup Challenge Cup.

Ridge buried British hopes with a 67th-minute try, holding off four British players but then missing the score with a display of the less attractive side of his game as he taunted Hammond and Powell.

Powell, who announced his retirement before winning his 33rd cap, lashed out physically at Ridge and verbally at the touch judge and the Australian referee Stephen Clark. He was sin-binned and then sent off but returned for the last two minutes on the advice of the fourth official.

Warwick National Hunt programme

Table listing various horse racing events and participants for the Warwick National Hunt programme, including names of riders and horses.

Weekend fixtures

Table listing weekend fixtures for various sports leagues including the National League, Scottish League, and others, with team names and locations.

Golf Langer back in groove

Michael Brittan in Hong Kong

BERNHARD LANGER earned the chance to extend his record of 17 consecutive seasons with at least one victory here yesterday when he shot a second-round 67 in the Alfred Dunhill Masters.

Langer's last victory, his 34th in Europe and the 46th of his career, came when he beat Barry Lane in a play-off for the European Open title at Dublin's "K" club 13 months ago. But this year he has struggled on the greens, both in the United Kingdom and Europe, where he finished 39th, his worst position since his first win, in the 1979 European Under-25 Championship.

Langer's principal problem now is not the grumpy greens, but the unexpected fierce heat and humidity for his time of the year. "I am much happier putting a sweater on than sweating all day," he said. But his concentration wavered only once, when he blocked his drive into trees at the 13th.

Elsewhere his iron-play was accurate enough to earn four birdies in the first 12 holes, and another at the 16th, where he was down from 12 feet.

"It is late in the year but it would finish on a very positive note and give me back my confidence if I could win this weekend," he said.

Seven Ballesteros looks as though he will have to wait a bit longer to enjoy similar solace. A double bogey at the short 18th, where he pulled a five-foot putt almost out of bounds, pegged him to a 70 and left him eight shots behind the leading quartet.

Wolverhampton all-weather card tonight

Various small notices and advertisements at the bottom right of the page.



Soccer

Dalglish scouting rumours at Ibrox

Patrick Glenn

KENNY DALGLISH, the eternal enigma, was at the centre of another puzzle yesterday when it was reported that he is to join Rangers as the head of a new pan-European scouting network at Ibrox.

Murray dismissed the report when he said: "I watched the second half of the match from a box. I did not speak to Kenny Dalglish and I did not offer him a job. Graham Taylor and Joe Royle were at the match. Have they also been offered jobs here?"

roles with which the former Scotland international has been associated. All previous speculation over his future, linking him with managers' jobs at Manchester City, Hibernian and Rangers themselves, has proved groundless. Murray, however, has been saying for some time that Rangers will be restructured with a view to joining a European league.

Ginola homes in on Metz

KEVIN KEEGAN believes that the Uefa Cup third-round draw, which has paired Newcastle United with the French club Metz, can provide his winger David Ginola with the perfect stage to relaunch his international career.

Metz, who defeated Sporting Lisbon in the last round, believe the first leg at their Saint-Symphorien stadium will prove a 27,000 sell-out.

castle are obviously the most dangerous club we could have drawn. I have no doubt that they are future champions of England and they have great attacking potential.

Van Hooydonk's pain a relief in Aberdeen

Patrick Glenn

ABERDEEN'S goalkeeper Nicky Walker and his fellow defenders may have felt that a persistent ache had been relieved yesterday when they learned that they are unlikely to face Pierre van Hooydonk at Celtic Park today.

Van Hooydonk scoring the second of Celtic's four goals, but it has limited his movement since.

when he returns from international duty. Aberdeen include the Icelandic midfielder Haraldur Ingolfsson, signed from Akranes until the end of the season, and the Under-21 international David Rowson, who yesterday signed a new four-year contract.

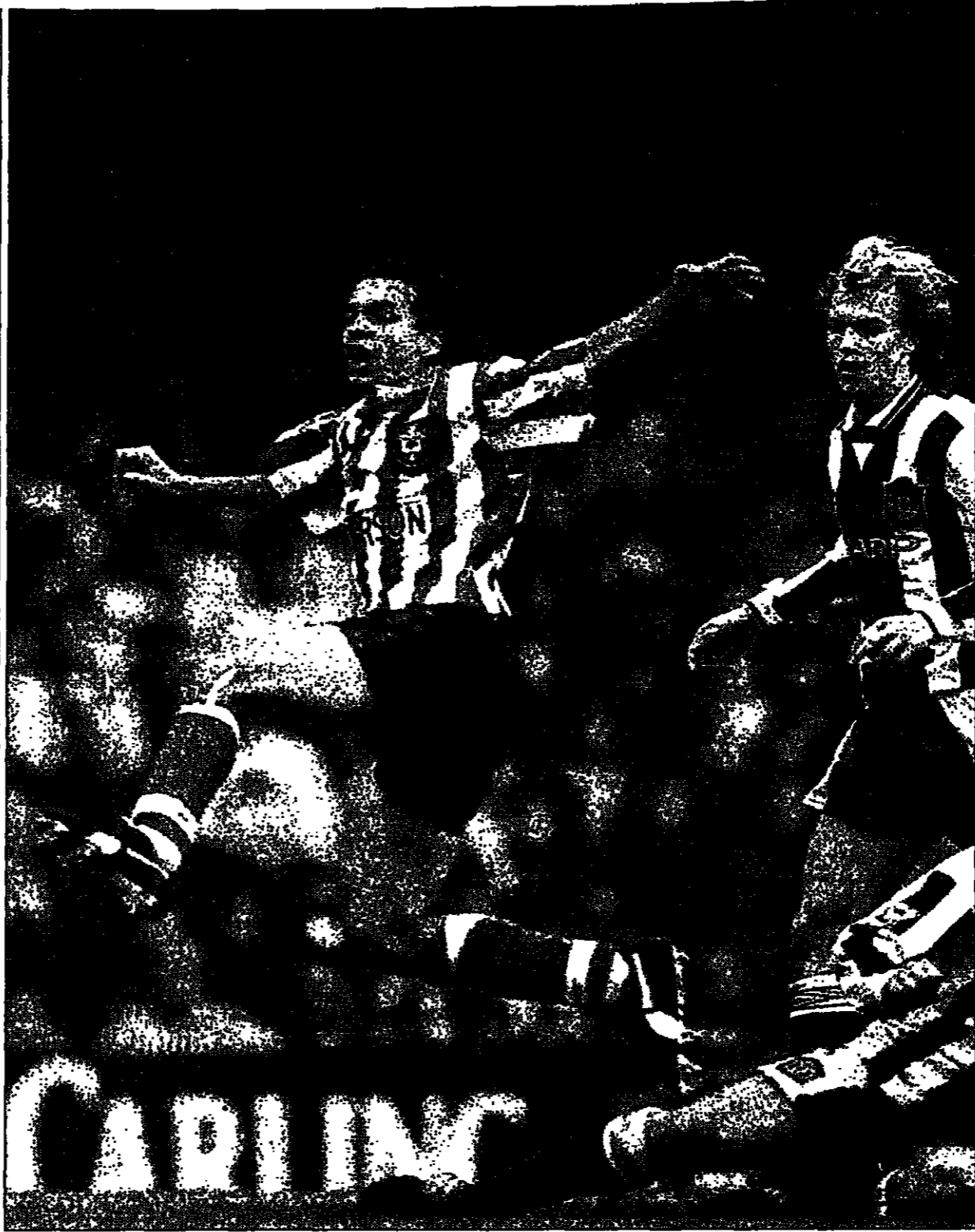
TEAM SHEET

Aston Villa v Nottm Forest
The Liverpool manager has been out for a month so Villa bring back Michael Oke. Gavin Southgate (knee) and Fernando Pochettino (hamstring) face heavy tests and Steve Staunton (hamstring) is the only player who has not been out.

Manchester United v Chelsea
United are likely to reshuffle their back line with Ole Gunnar Solskjaer likely to return to the starting line-up and Jordi Cruyff and Gary Naysmith set to start down. Gary Pallister has had surgery on his troublesome knee injury and will be out for around five weeks. David Lee's broken leg creates an immediate slot for the 19-year-old Frenchman Franck Leboeuf in the Chelsea lineup. Erlend Sorenson and Michael Derby are also in contention but Gianluca Vialli (knee) is doubtful.

Wimbledon v Arsenal
Wimbledon, who will go top if they secure an eighth win in nine games at the expense of the current leaders, are still without the defender Brian McClister but Arsenal, seeking a sixth win in seven games, are confident that Ian Wright (groin) will be fit. Nigel Winterburn (knee) should take his place in defence but the midfielder Romo Garzo (groin) is doubtful.

HMV UNDERWORLD THE NEW SINGLE CD1 CD2 12 OUT NOW PEARL'S GIRL (SHORT) BICH BICH CHERRY PIE

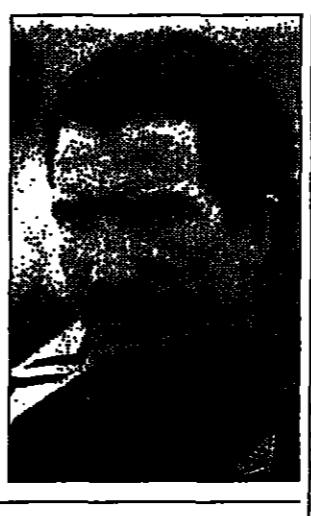


Small but perfectly in form... the diminutive Berkovic showed both perception and power against United

The Saints bless Souness's sharp nose for a bargain

THE DELL Even the name of the ground exudes a sleepy backwater feel, a cosy wooded hollow tucked away from the Premiership's superhighways and superior budgets.

A revitalised Southampton take their six-match unbeaten run to Hillsborough today. Martin Thorpe on a once notoriously spendthrift boss who has shown a surprising talent for parsimony



relieved genius in Southampton. "Having so many quality players around me at last has helped lift the pressure," says the scorer of nine goals this season, yesterday voted Premiership Player of the Month.

Well, last Saturday the giants came a-calling and, instead of wreaking their expected havoc, they were sent away with a large fee in their expensive ears. Of course, one giant-killing act counts for little; York City are still struggling long after beating Manchester United. But at Southampton there are clear signs that one of the club's most famous victories will presage a permanent elevation to domestic soccer's headier climes.

The appointment of a big-time manager, the purchase of a host of un-Southampton-like quality players and the imminent green light for a new stadium fit for the millennium show that the Saints are marching to a new tune. For now, though, Graeme Souness is tapping his conductor's baton on the music stand. "We must get carried away," he says. "By besting United everyone assumes Southampton are going to take the Premiership by storm. We can't let that happen because it will just go to the players' heads. One result doesn't mean they are the best team in the Premiership. We've got to follow it up."

Against United Berkovic scored with what were basically his first two shots for the club. The Norwegian international striker Egil Ostenstad scored a hat-trick in that game. He was signed for only £500,000. Once Souness decided he did not fancy Neil Shipperley, he went for Ostenstad, who had then scored 24 goals in 25 games for Viking Stavanger.

There have been other buys: two wingers, Robbie Slater from West Ham and Graham Potter from Stoke, both for £250,000, while on Thursday Souness's old Rangers goalkeeper Chris Woods joined on loan, which means there is now competition for every place in the team. And the bill? £4.2 million spent, but £3.2 million recouped from the sale of Richard Hall, Tommy Widington and Shipperley. And there is still the £4 million Souness was originally given to spend on players.

A N Other

NOMINAL proof that a fair-to-middling talent can cross the widest rivers, this son of Carlsberg enjoyed as varied career as any footballer could wish for.

Performance of the week: Faustino Asprilla (Newcastle United), who consistently bamboozled Ferraraccio in the Uefa Cup on Tuesday.

Grimsby split with Laws

GRIMSBY TOWN yesterday parted company with Brian Laws and put the youth coach John Cockerill in temporary charge for tomorrow's home game against Sheffield United.

until he reduces the wages bill. The Arsenal midfielder David Hillier yesterday completed a £250,000 move to Portsmouth and Wycombe signed the Derby defender Jason Kavanagh on loan.

Pour out the pity for poor United

Soccer Diary

Martin Thorpe

DOGS with two tails come nowhere near. The hapless beings on the planet at the moment are the people who hate Manchester United. Boy, are they pushing the boat out after the champions' 10 days from hell.

Only 20 barrels were produced and most were quickly drunk. The last of it went on sale at Morpeth's Tap and Spile pub - in Manchester Street. Incidentally, the video of that game is selling 35,000 copies a day nationwide, outstripping Jurassic Park (£15,000).

All in all, Jeremy Hawthorn from Liverpool suggests a suitable film title for United's nightmare month would be: The Hunt For Red October.

HEARD on Radio 5: Rangers are pointless in Europe. Very true.

THERE used to be only one Ravanelli in Middlesbrough: Roger Ravanelli. Now the 36-year-old Durham University lecturer finds himself forever being asked: "Are you related?"

Roger, of Italian and French ancestry, is not, but as a Boro fan is amazed to find his namesake in his town. "Of all the European clubs he could have chosen he chose mine," he says.

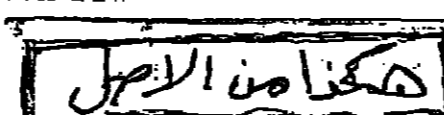
THE fans' magazine Cockney: a Duddle-Doo has been press-watching: "Players Spurs were 'linked with' since the last issue" two months ago: Trevor Sinclair, Warren Rufus, Neil Ruddock, Danny Simpson, Jesper Blomqvist, Petter Rudi, Anton Pfeffer, Pascal Simsen, Andreas Andersson, Emmanuel Petit, Alain Coma, Taribo West, Christian Ziege, Florian Maurice, Graham Le Saux, Sean Dundee, Wolfgang Feiersinger - and since then there has been Enzo Scifo and Ramon Vega. Quite a team.

THE fanzine also reveals that Ruel Fox was recently stopped for speeding. However, he was let off with a caution because it was a first offence.

THE Vietnamese international Chu Van Minh has been banned for life for leading an attack on the referee at last month's domestic cup final. Mai's team went for the referee as the final whistle blew on their 3-1 defeat to Doncaster on October 6.

FOLLOWING the fire that destroyed part of Arsenal's training ground, a joke has been doing the rounds inside the camp: it was Arsenal.

Vertical advertisements on the right edge of the page, including "Gooch SE", "his cap a", "my's cha", "Bleeper beat", "by Gustafsson", and "Football".





Cricket

Gooch sets his cap at Illy's chair

Mike Selvey

GRAHAM GOOCH has made himself favourite to succeed Raymond Illingworth as chairman of England selectors by announcing that he would give up his playing career...

I don't think it is possible both to be a player and serve as chairman. Little, media relations officer for the Test and County Cricket Board, admitted that Gooch would certainly be a strong candidate...



Dale of the Valleys... McIntosh has settled so well in Wales that he may yet appear in the scarlet jersey this season

All hail the Chief of Sardis Road

Frank Keating meets Dale McIntosh, the No. 8 from King Country and a key figure in Pontypridd's European Cup success

PONTYPRIDD are confidently braced for their daunting day in Dax. The refreshingly game club from the Valleys has surprised itself with striking shows in this still nascent tournament of nations...

One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest. There is nothing remotely birdlike, however, about McIntosh's tackling on the hoof...

Black back-row barnstormer Colin Meads, who selected the schoolboy at No. 8 for King Country's junior development squads for three successive years...

It has been a mutually happy liaison. The strut and the accent may still be that of the carefree colonial rough diamond, but firm roots have now been sunk...

glamour east and west — it has always been the most formidable of "family" clubs.

While Pontypridd has never been in the Welsh clubs' big-league curve up and how many down the century have left, or skirted past...

Bristol gifted £1 million

BRISTOL have been bailed out of financial trouble by a £1 million donation from the club director of rugby Darryll Jones...

Four wickets for defiant Giles

ASHLEY GILES defied the heat in Tamworth to underline his Test credentials and prevent a New South Wales XI from establishing a commanding first-innings lead...

Bleeper beaten by Gustafsson

MAGNUS Gustafsson beat the former Olympic champion Marc Rosset to reach the semi-finals of the Paris Open. It was a difficult match for the level-headed Swede...

Results

- Soccer: Bayern Munich 1, 1899 Luepelt 1. Rugby League: New Zealand 32, Great Britain 12. Chess: World Youth Championships (Minors): Youth round (Swiss scores)...

Sport in brief

- Boxing: Lemox Lewis's fight with Oliver McCall for the vacant WBC heavyweight title. Snooker: Belgium in Irish Waterloo. Ice Hockey: Superleague proposes overtime farce.

Belgium in Irish Waterloo

Belgium's snooker players were the first in mainland Europe to take to the table. The Republic of Ireland's snooker players were the first to take to the table...

1996-7 Season PREMIERSHIP FOOTBALL. Tickets available for various clubs. BOOK TICKETS NOW 0171 413 3355

Rugby Union Bath buoyed by Mendez

Robert Armstrong

BATH's much-heralded signing of Argentina's Paul Ackford at Twickenham could hardly have come at a more timely moment in their quest for the Heineken European Cup...

TELEVISION FOOTBALL. BOOK TICKETS NOW 0171 413 3355



# The Guardian sport



**Bright days at the Dell**  
The spending power of Souness  
22



**One eye on Lord's**  
Gooch makes a play for the top job  
23

## SOCCER

'I expect high standards. I also accept that people are human. Paul knows he has to change in the long term. My aim is to do nothing in the short term that might turn out to be unhelpful in the future.'

**David Lacey** on Glenn Hoddle's determination to offer a final chance of absolution to Paul Gascoigne



Forgiving if not forgetting... Glenn Hoddle outlines his squad and the reasons for selecting them at yesterday's media assembly

## Terrace talk and the right to reply



**David Lacey**

**F**OOTBALL is undergoing one of its periodic bouts of silliness between fans and players. Each incident is more absurd than the last. This week it was reported that the Hampshire constabulary was looking into complaints by Southampton supporters that Manchester United's David Beckham had bared his bottom during Saturday's match at The Dell. One spectator claimed that Beckham had hitched his shorts "as high as they would go". Beckham has denied it. Neil Lennon, a Leicester City midfielder, and Dean Kieley, the Bury goalkeeper, were also under investigation by police after being accused of making insulting gestures to the respective fans of Newcastle United and Bristol Rovers. Again, both players have rejected the allegations.

Kieley appears to have done nothing more than cup his ears to the taunts of opposing supporters. Political correctness being what it is, however, he could be in danger of being hauled up before the FA disciplinary committee for mocking the racially challenged.

It is well known of course that the modern football fan, far from sharing the monocular outlook of Polyphemus or the fickleness of Caligula's thumb, is a sensitive soul. A lone voice at Highbury might bellow an obscenity about Chelsea during the minute's silence for Matthew Harding, and a Chelsea fan might inform an interviewer that the best way to mark Harding's passing would be to "beat the Yids" when Tottenham visited Stamford Bridge.

Otherwise your average English supporter is PC personified, racially impeccable and totally incapable of singing "one Quasimodo" at round-shouldered opponents. The latest burst of spectator

indignation involves Mark Bosnich reacting to abuse from Spurs fans regarding his foul, two seasons earlier, on Jürgen Klinsmann by giving a Nazi salute. Given Tottenham's large Jewish following this was a peculiar business, this PC. In simpler times a player might drop his shorts to crowds who were giving him a hard time, everybody would have a laugh, the FA would hand out a small fine and that would be it. David Gaskell, a Manchester United goalkeeper, and Sammy Nelson, an Arsenal defender, are among those who have bared all for posterity.

Things started to get more serious when footballers began making the signs to the fans, the defence being that the accused were reminding the opposition of the score. Funny though, it always seemed to be two-nil.

**S**OMEHOW cocking a snook at or making pack-city-yack motions with fingers and thumb does not quite fit into this category. And nobody has spat at the punters lately, after the manner of Ian Wright at Oldham in 1991, or Cantona at Leeds in 1995. Thankfully, Paul Fair's idea of enlivening an Auto Windscreens Shield final by wearing a T-shirt under his Birmingham City strip bearing an obscene slogan concerning Aston Villa never caught on.

Paul Gascoigne's imitation of an Orange parade blautist during a Rangers game was crass, but then one always did suspect that at the ball of Kirillemur Gazzza was the one swinging from the chandelier whistling at the crowd.

Players should be allowed an acceptable degree of reaction to crowd taunts. Words, after all, can hurt. In the case of Brighton's outside-left Steve Dennis Gordon, who was tonorially challenged. A reporter heard a fan shout "come on, Baldy", assumed it was his nickname, and printed it. Gordon was hurt. The reporter said he thought he had been dubbed Baldy after a character in the Hotspur, Baldy Hogan. "Nonsense," said Gordon, "but I don't mind being called Flash."

# Faith, charity... and hope

**G**LENN HODDLE has invited Paul Gascoigne to join him on the road to the Caucasus in the hope that he can set the player on the straight and narrow. Hoddle's decision to retain Gascoigne in the England squad after newspaper allegations of wife-beating is worryingly paved with good intentions. For the moment, however, Gazza is heading where more hellish than Thelisi, where England meet Georgia in a World Cup qualifying match a week today.

Yesterday Hoddle defended the retention of Gascoigne, which will intensify the wrath of nigger groups, on the grounds that omitting him would have been too easy. He decided to keep him in, he explained, after several talks with the player and after sitting in on one of Gascoigne's counselling sessions.

"I believe I now have a clear understanding of the problems he and his family are experiencing," Hoddle said. "I have been deeply impressed by his determination to address his problems, and the progress he has already made. I believe that with my help, and that of counselling, we can guide and help him and his family to go further. "At no time have I, or would

### The squad

**WORLD CUP GROUP TWO**  
Thelisi, November 9  
Sousness (Arsenal), Walker (Tottenham), James (Liverpool)  
G. Neville (Man Utd), Pearce (Notm Forest), Hinchcliffe (Everton), Scott (Leeds), Viala (Arsenal), Adams (Aston Villa), Campbell (Tottenham), Souless (Liverpool), Ivers (Ipswich), Gascoigne (Rangers), Beckham (Man Utd), McManaman (Liverpool), Platt (Arsenal), Barry (Newcastle), Le Tissier (Southampton), Barmby (Everton), Pearce (Newcastle), Shevington (Tottenham), Fowler (Liverpool), Wright, Merson (from Arsenal).

I, condone what Paul has done," Hoddle continued. "I expect high standards. I also accept that people are human. Paul knows he has to change in the long term. My aim is to do nothing in the short term that might turn out to be unhelpful in the future."

Hoddle set out his case in a prepared statement and was backed by a similar joint statement from the FA's chairman Keith Wiseman and its chief executive Graham Kelly. When pressed to expand on his comments he stuck to the party line. "I think we all know Paul needed some sort of help," he explained. "And he will need it long after the Georgia game. Only time will tell whether people will be able to help him. It's going to be down to Paul. But you can't cast him aside. I just want him to be given an opportunity similar to the one Paul Merson has had."

Both Merson, who has had rehabilitation treatment for drink, drug and gambling problems, and Tony Adams, his Arsenal captain who recently admitted to being an alcoholic, are in the squad. "Paul Gascoigne has many problems," said Hoddle. "It's not just about getting over this one. I'm trying to give him the opportunity to learn from the mistakes he has made. I've already seen a change in him. He knows he's got to change."

Hoddle refused to be specific about Gascoigne's domestic difficulties. "Much of what I have learnt has to remain private," he said. "I'm aware of much that is not, and should not, be public knowledge." Asked about Gascoigne's drinking, he admitted that "there is a slight problem there" but did not consider it a major issue. Some have said that as a practising Christian Hoddle

is aware of this — "you have to get your body right and look after yourself when you are 29 or 30" — and so was Taylor: "There comes a time when you have to take responsibility for yourself. You can't allow your fitness to go." And when Taylor said that Gascoigne was 25. This week the Gascoigne debate will concern the likelihood of Hoddle keeping him in the England team. Rightly or wrongly Hoddle is less likely to drop him now than he would have been a fortnight ago. With Alan Shearer and Gary Pallister recovering from operations, Adams may well return as centre-half and captain. In Shearer's absence, another Arsenal player, Ian Wright, has been recalled as attacking cover.

## Game's image takes a new battering

**Richard Williams** on a decision that will bring down a storm on the England camp

**I**F Joe Public's wife had left a hotel with bruises and bandages, Glenn Hoddle said yesterday, and if there had been no police involvement in the affair, Joe wouldn't have got the sack from his job. Why then should the same latitude not be extended to Paul Gascoigne? Only a double-dyed cynic would suggest that Gascoigne's inclusion in the squad for next week's match in Georgia, a fortnight after pictures of his apparently battered wife appeared on the front page of the Daily Mirror, had less to do with the manager's belief in Christian forgiveness than with the pressing need for a good World Cup result. But the fact remains that there will be an outcry against Hoddle's decision to allow Gascoigne the chance to reform himself while remaining an England player.

Hoddle chose to make a show of amusement when it was suggested to him yesterday that, given his position, his pronouncements probably have more effect on the nation's moral health than those of the Archbishop of Canterbury. But the fact remains that the slight of the bruised Sheryl Gascoigne coincided with the onset of a national debate about public and private morality and Hoddle's decision on the player's immediate future was always going to bear a heavier load than would be proper were his inclusion in the team merely a matter of form and fitness.

To the likes of Helena Kennedy, Julie Burchill, Suzanne Moore and women's rights groups up and down the country, the solution was obvious: kick him out, thereby setting an example to macho sportsmen. Hoddle's explanation of his decision to opt for charity is unlikely to do much more than feed their belief in a male conspiracy. "I'm aware of the feeling on this issue," he said. "The word 'example' is important here. Everyone's

got a different interpretation of what an example should be all about. You can have a quick example, with punishment, which would be to cast him out and discard him now. But I'm hoping that he can change. The aim is to make him into a role model. What a great example that would be to children and young people. This way's the tough way. The easy way was to chuck him out. It seems certain that the argument between Mr and Mrs Gascoigne was not as straightforward as the first tabloid accounts made it appear. Such things never

are. And only a full knowledge of the details surrounding the events at the Gleneagles Hotel, Hoddle suggested, had allowed him to reach his conclusion. "These are very private things," he said. "They're too private to talk about. I could only make the decision by sitting in on some of the meetings and discussions for many hours with Paul. If I'd found that the details were so negative, he wouldn't have stayed in the squad. This had to come from my heart, not my head. My head tells me, cast him out. But I know the details, I've seen the reaction from Paul, and I'm saying, yes, he can change."



Gascoigne... last chance

## Guardian COLLINS Crossword 20,800

A copy of the Collins English Dictionary will be sent to the first five correct entries. Entries to Guardian Crossword No 20,800, P.O. Box 315, Mitcham, Surrey, CR4 2AX, by first post on Friday, November and winners in the Guardian on Monday, November 11.

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1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30

- Set by Araucaria**  
N has the same meaning in all clues
- 1 Duplicates gold leaves for getting your money back or... (6,2,5)
  - 10 ... losing the lot by giving some fruit to people (5)
  - 11 Copper takes his turn with a piece of armour (5)
  - 12 Lady Macbeth called N stupid (5)
  - 13 N complete with bag? (9)
  - 14 N, one of MI (7)
  - 16 Tangling with me's where the action is (3,4)
  - 18 Play N — it's a glorious day (7)
  - 20 Power sources: Romeo's N's were gutted (7)
  - 21 Wicked lying tout — but he didn't do it (3,6)
  - 23 Too bright for N of celebration Antony demanded (5)
  - 24 Takes courage from Dr. Soutros Ghail (5)
  - 25 What Annie had to do gives

negative indication to a horse (say) swallowing an anaesthetic (3,3,3)  
26 Character of false one insane with lust and sin (13)  
**Down**  
2 Start to speak about one spirit (9)  
3 Like N, maybe going to bat, born with defect (5)  
4 Relation in formation of ozone may be a parasite (7)  
5 River home for fellow with a big yawn (7)  
6 The French forsaking a relation, ex-naval type, with indifference (9)  
7 Object to change of N (5)  
8 Pa, formerly a professional, to take part in centre of triumph (13)  
9 Point to cover a motorway maxim: I didn't really mean that (4,2,1,6)  
15 During "A Passage to New Zealand" a complaint is made (9)  
17 Girl was up in revolt at N with a broomsuck? (8)  
19 No sign of 26 with information to go with quartz (7)  
20 N of pogrom, very clear (7)  
22 Atherian doctor is in the money (5)  
23 He hangs in shades the orange bright like golden lamps in a — N (Marvell) (5)

C	W	U	S	A							
P	A	T	A	T	I	V	E	S	O	A	P
E	I	T	A	I	A	I	I	I	I	I	I
U	I	E	A	D	O	F	L	E	D		
Q	U	I	E	R	T	O	F	A	L	E	D
A	D	D	R	E	T	I	O	N	E		
G	I	R	A	D	E	S					
R	A	D	R	O							
O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
P	E	L	L	E							
R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R

Crossword solution 20,799

**You are a master of the broad and sweeping generalisation. We are asked to believe that everyone, be they Jews, aborigines, Indians, churchmen, trade unionists, even the Prince of Wales, is in agreement with your views — an intellectual promiscuity one can only describe as breathtaking.**  
Head to head: Stanley Kalms replies to Anita Roddick

The Week page 16

...he's a bigot  
...but is he brilliant  
Clinton  
lead s  
Murdoch 'c  
inside